THE
CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

No. 67.] *JULY*, 1807. [No. 7. Vol. VI.

Religious Communications.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THE following essay was read to some neighbouring clergymen, who were accustomed to meet, at stated times, for the purpose of conferring together on the best means of performing their clerical duties. It was usual, at these meetings, for each of the members, in turn, to produce an essay on some subject relating to the ministerial office; and the following, which was composed for that purpose, is submitted to you at the request of some who heard it, not as containing any thing either new or particularly striking, but simply as bringing into one view various particulars in which an active clergyman may be employed to the glory of God and the benefit of his flock. If you think it likely to be useful, you are at liberty to give it a wider circulation, by publishing it in your valuable miscellany.

L. R. D. N.

ON THE EXTENT AND INFLUENCE OF THE LABOURS OF AN ACTIVE CHRISTIAN MINISTER.

IT is an important remark, that our views of duty are acquired, and our characters formed, more from the general example of those around us in our station of life, than from abstract speculations respecting the nature of duty and the line of conduct which we ought to pursue. However erroneous it may be to make the general practice our standard of right, yet we are all of us inclined to do so, more perhaps than we are aware, and much more than we should be willing to justify. A necessary, and indeed a melancholy consequence of this is, that conscience, regulating herself by this erroneous rule of duty, leaves a man in the peaceful approbation of his own conduct, so long as it does not fall below that of the better part of his own order.

In these remiss days, when discipline in the Church has been so long neglected, that it is scarcely remembered to what a degree it once prevailed; when the purity of our faith has been debased by a sceptical indifference about doctrines and articles of belief; when general negligence has rendered it virtuous not to be bad, and has made a *decent* discharge of the principal duties of the clerical office meritorious; there is the greatest danger of our forming a wrong estimate of duty, and of our being so far deceived as to applaud our own conduct, when it ought rather to excite shame and repentance.

Indeed, but little knowledge and less zeal are at present required to constitute the venerable character of a Christian pastor. Without any critical acquaintance with the original languages of the sacred writers; any accurate investigation of the scope, connection, and exact interpretation of the various parts of Scripture; any extensive knowledge of the history of the Church and the various errors which have been condemned by its councils; without any ardent love to Christ constraining him; any active compassion for perishing sinners; scarcely knowing even the names of his flock, and being a total stranger to their spiritual wants, perhaps residing at a

distance from them; a man may still be looked upon as a respectable clergyman. He may deliver his sermons, (in preparing which, perhaps all the trouble he has taken may have been to select and copy them from the printed works of authors), in a grave and decorous manner. He may be punctual in the hour of attendance at Church; ready to baptize children, bury the dead, and read the appointed form of prayer to the sick, when sent for. He may also be decent and regular in the general course of his life. Whoever possesses these qualifications, will possess all that is generally esteemed necessary for a respectable clergyman. Nay, if he possess more, he may probably, in the opinion of some, injure his character: he may run the risque of being stigmatised as righteous overmuch: he may be suspected of being an enthusiast, and of courting the applause of the mob.

This state of things must necessarily have some influence, even on a better disposed and more religious minister, and may lead him, without being aware of his deficiency, to be satisfied with regularly preaching the Gospel on the Sunday, visiting the sick, and perhaps establishing a lecture on a week-day. Having done this, he will be apt to think that he has done all which can be required of him. But, admitting that such a life may have nothing in it positively evil, I am sure it is extremely defective. A much greater degree of activity is required in the ministers of Christ. This will appear evident, if we reflect how much less good will probably be effected by such a course as I have described, than might have been effected by increased care and diligence; and therefore how much greater pains ought actually to have been taken: for it will be allowed, that to perceive that more good is practicable, imposes an obligation to attempt it.

If we contemplate the lives of faithful ministers of Christ in other periods, we shall at once be convinced how much more may be performed than is usually thought sufficient. In the primitive Church, it is well known, how indefatigable ministers were in their labours; how carefully they watched over every individual in their flocks, guarding against the introduction of any error or false doctrine; how strictly they maintained discipline, openly rebuking the least deviation from purity of manners; and how holy and unblameable they were in their lives. Nor have there been wanting numerous examples in modern times, both in England and Scotland, with which the memory of every person versed in ecclesiastical biography will readily supply him, of pastors who have regularly visited their parishioners from house to house, and admonished, exhorted, or reproved them, according to their spiritual state; who have catechised all the children of their charge, and have not only given every person within their parish an opportunity of hearing the divine word, but brought as it were salvation to their houses, and pressed it upon them with an earnestness proportioned to its worth. And the success of their labours has been answerable to the zeal which they have displayed; whole parishes being entirely reformed, and numerous individuals manifesting a total change of principles and conduct.

That conviction of the beneficial effect of a minister's taking extraordinary pains, which the contemplation of such characters must produce, will be strengthened by reflecting on the small amount of good which is likely to be effected, when our ministerial labours are confined principally to the act of preaching. Preaching indeed is an excellent means of communicating instruction and grace: far be it from me to undervalue it: it is of God's appointment, and attended in an especial manner with his blessing. But surely it never could have been intended, that a minister should do

nothing but preach ; or that the divine blessing should rest only on the words spoken in a pulpit. How often do we find, that when the novelty of preaching is worn off, preaching loses much of its effect, and that there is therefore a necessity for trying other means? The people also often want that disposition which gives to preaching its efficacy ; they want even the desire to hear ; they have not a proper sense of the importance of what is delivered ; nor are they fully persuaded that the minister is in earnest, or that he is anxious about any thing more than merely that his people should come to Church and hear his discourses. All that he says in the pulpit, they consider him as paid for saying ; and they conceive that it is but a part of his official duty to preach with proper earnestness and solemnity.

It is therefore his example when out of the pulpit, the zeal he then manifests, the pains he then takes, which must give his flock a favourable impression of what he delivers from the pulpit, and convince them that his life, his principles, his religion, are substantially different from their own.

To confirm this view of the subject, let the great good which has been actually accomplished by zealous exertions be considered. No one can estimate the immense advantages which have accrued to the world from the laborious endeavours even of a single individual. What a diminution of misery has taken place in the state of the wretched inhabitants of a goal, not throughout England only, but throughout all Europe, by means of the indefatigable labours of the benevolent Howard? What a diffusion of knowledge has been spread through this land, by the well directed activity of Mr. Raikes of Gloucester, the father of Sunday Schools? How much has religious knowledge been promoted by the excellent Mrs. More, among the lower ranks in Somersetshire, by the establishment of schools; and throughout Great Britain, by the publication of her cheap repository tracts ; while the higher orders have been instructed and charmed by the elegant productions of her pen? Had each of these been satisfied with a decent discharge of the ordinary duties of their respective stations, though their piety might have edified their own immediate circle, of how much good would the world have been deprived? No person has ever been eminently useful, who did not take extraordinary pains and make great exertions. An indolent temper, or a merely speculative life, is incompatible with great utility.

Should it be inquired, in what way a minister ought to exert himself? I reply, that a proper view of the wants of his people, and a heart properly affected towards them, will discover to him so many opportunities of usefulness, that what he will most require will be time to answer the calls which will press upon him. A parish minister may consider himself as the father of a large family, all of whom are more or less in want of his assistance, more or less ignorant, foolish, and unhappy. He is to be eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame. He is to be the friend, the adviser, the helper of them all. The good shepherd will not, cannot rest, while he sees so many of his flock wandering far from God; so many wretched through their ignorance of the grace of God that bringeth salvation; and so many in danger of everlasting destruction. He cannot but be instant in season and out of season. He cannot content himself with a formal stated address to them once a week, any more than a tender father could, who saw a beloved son in the way to ruin. His "bowels will yearn" within him ; he will "travail in birth, till Christ be formed in their souls;" and this anxiety will suggest to him proper methods of administering help, and carry him on with a persevering zeal in the prosecution of them.

But it may be useful to take a

more detailed view of several fields of ministerial exertion.

The religious education of the *children* of his flock will be one very material object of a Christian minister's attention. In children, we not only meet with a disposition more pliant, and less inclined to cavil or disobey, than in adult persons, but, while engaged in instructing them, we are gaining an authority and influence over the rising generation, which may be directed to serve the best purposes. An active minister, therefore, will by no means be content with hearing a few of the children repeat, once a year, the Church Catechism; he will be anxious that all should receive instruction. He will, therefore, if there should be no Charity School or Sunday School in the parish, endeavour to establish one; and when established, it will become immediately the field of his labour. He will visit it frequently, and endeavour to become acquainted with the children, their dispositions, and their failings. He will call upon and admonish those parents, who either do not place their children at school, or who suffer them to neglect it. He will give weight and authority to the master's directions, and endeavour to impress the children with the idea, that it is of the utmost importance for them to acquire the means of knowledge. But above all, he will be sedulous to direct their minds to the great duties of religion; (it may be, alas! the only period of their lives, when they will have any religious counsel addressed to them;) and when they quit school, and go out to service, he will take care that they are furnished with the Bible and other books calculated for their religious improvement.

Together with the young, *the poor* also will be considered by the zealous minister of Christ as coming immediately under his care. He will search out the neglected retreats of poverty, and visit those abodes of sorrow and misery which are never seen, and seldom thought of, by too many of the rich and the prosperous. If any of his flock suffer under circumstances of severe distress, he will be the first to set on foot plans for their relief; nor will he be soon discouraged in soliciting help for them. Where an instance of flagrant injustice or oppression occurs, he will not be afraid to stand up in behalf of the injured or oppressed. Thus he will be the mediator of the poor, their patron, and their friend, an instrument of exciting the compassion and liberality of others, and a means of ready communication between the poor and the rich. By one instance of such benevolent exertion, he may gain more of the real love of the poor, and of the esteem of the rich, than he would have done by the labour of a year in his study, or by the production of one hundred ingenious or elaborate discourses.

An active minister will also be anxious to seize the opportunities which offer themselves for friendly advice and religious instruction, during the season of sickness, or under the pressure of some peculiar affliction. In such cases he will lose no time in paying a friendly visit. If possible, he will be the first in this labour of love; for there is an infinite difference in the effect produced by the visit of a friend, immediately on the occurrence of some distressing event, and by his calling on a future day, or waiting till he is sent for. In these scenes of suffering, when the minds of the sufferers are humbled and softened by adversity, he will be anxious to turn their calamities to a good account, and to co-operate with the design of Providence in sending them. Nor will his care for them be confined to giving them spiritual advice, but he will shew himself truly interested in their temporal affairs, assisting them in such ways as a person who watches for convenient opportunities of doing good will be at no loss to discover. When, after such proofs of love, he speaks in the pulpit with the warmth and feel-

ings of a friend about their eternal interests, they will believe that he speaks from his heart, and be prepossessed in favour of all that he delivers.

Solicitude for the *general reformation* of manners in his parish will also occupy the thoughts of a zealous minister, and put him upon taking active steps to accomplish it. Do any sinful customs, therefore, prevail in the place; any barbarous practices, as cock-fightings, or boxings; any public acts of profaneness, as keeping shops open on the Lord's Day? These he will labour to suppress; first, by private admonition, as far as that will avail; and where that fails of success, by inducing the magistrate to interfere, and by stirring him up to good works. He will visit (where it is practicable) the public houses on the Sabbath, and endeavour to rectify the disorders of those receptacles of sin. Does he hear of any serious quarrel between two of his parishioners? He will endeavour to make peace between the contending parties. Does ignorance, with respect to religion in general, or with respect to any particular duties which we owe to God or our fellow creatures, prevail? He will procure suitable tracts and books, and give or lend them amongst his people, that all may have it in their power at least to know what they ought to do. He will earnestly press the daily worship of God on all within his parish. He will make pastoral * visits to the poorer families at least, indeed to all who will receive them; and he will be solicitous, that even his visits of mere civility may in some measure be made instrumental in promoting the interests of religion. He will study also to have the public worship of God performed in a more devout manner; enforcing a full attendance of his parishioners, by calling upon such as have absented themselves; distributing among them Bibles and Common Prayer Books, and encouraging the whole congregation to join in making the responses, and in singing the praises of God. Thus in all things his eye will be quick to discern, his heart to feel, and his hands to accomplish, what may render his flock a truly Christian congregation, exemplary for decency, piety, and good works.

Still, however, the great work, not merely of amending their outward conduct, but of reforming their hearts, will be that which will principally occupy his attention; and he will especially bear in his mind the cases of the three classes into which his people may be di-

* Formerly zealous ministers were accustomed to make regular pastoral visits to every family in their parish; and throughout Scotland this is considered as so much a part of the minister's stated duty, that public notice is given on the Sunday of the district in the parish which the minister means to visit during the week. One or more elders generally attend him in these domestic visits, at which the whole family is assembled and individually examined with respect to their knowledge of the truths and practice of religion, and receives a suitable address or admonition. This plan may not be generally practicable in the present state of England, but a minister will almost always be allowed ready access to the families of the poor, especially when he has already attended them during sickness or a season of distress. These would esteem it a favour done to them, if he were afterwards to pay them a visit; and upon these he might regularly call once or twice a year, giving them suitable instruction. Some stated time should be fixed for this pastoral visitation, else it will not be regularly performed. In small parishes, an active minister might, perhaps in this way, visit the whole of his parish once in each quarter of a year; by which means he would gain a very accurate knowledge of the whole of his flock, and they would become intimately acquainted with their pastor. It would be highly useful, if on such occasions he were to note down in a journal his observations on the state of each family. It may be presumed, that on one account or another, a minister will, in a short space of time, have had the means of direct intercourse with most, if not all his parishioners, especially if he has watched for opportunities of becoming acquainted with them.

vided, viz. the careless, the well disposed, and the truly religious.

1. With respect to the first of these, not content with addressing them from the pulpit, he will watch for opportunities of speaking to them in private; of admonishing them in a friendly, but serious manner; of writing to them, where other means of access are denied; and by various other means, of expressing his solicitude on their account. This attempt to disturb the fatal tranquillity of sinners, even when prudently conducted (and we are admonished by our Lord not to be imprudent in our zeal, not to cast our pearls before swine,) may perhaps produce reproach, contempt, or hatred; for who that attempts to reform mankind will not be opposed and disliked? But happy will he be in being distinguished as Christ and his Apostles were; nor will he lose his reward, the reward of turning some of his bitterest adversaries into his most stedfast adherents and kind friends.

2. With respect to those who are beginning to be well disposed towards religion, he will be still more vigilant. He will be eager to address them, to exhort them, and to give them counsel respecting the temptations and dangers to which they are subject. If they grow remiss, he will quicken his diligence; and while Satan and the world are every day active in conspiring to ruin their souls, the captain of the Lord's host will not stand idly looking on the combat, and content himself with addressing to them a general word of exhortation. Indeed, it is when persons begin to be awakened from their natural state of religious indifference, that his office as a pastor of the flock comes into exercise. Now he has pupils committed to him who are ignorant, and he must teach them; weak, and he must fortify them; at a loss how to act, and he must direct them; subject to many doubts which he must resolve, and many dangers which he must assist them in repelling. Now he becomes a parent in Christ, and feels the anxiety belonging to that tender relation. Now, therefore, will he redouble his care to present his children, thus begotten in the Lord, properly trained up, instructed, and complete, in the great day of the appearing of Jesus Christ.

3. Those also who are truly religious will not be dismissed from his anxiety, as soon as they have fully become the disciples of Christ; but will still require a large portion of his attention. They will yet be in want of much instruction, be often placed in difficult circumstances in which they will require counsel, and be subject to trials and temptations in which their faith will need to be confirmed. Another weighty consideration will now press upon his mind, the influence which his own example will have in forming their characters, and directing their conduct: for in general, as the pastor is, so is the flock. Is he careless, and content with a superficial religion? So in a great measure will they be. Is he active, zealous, ready to every good word and work? They will catch a portion of his zeal: they will not think themselves Christians till they have imbibed his views, entered into his feelings, and copied after his example. He will therefore be active for their sakes; and this activity will lead him to stir them up, to set them on doing good, to provoke them unto love and good works, to put them upon instructing their families and servants, to admonish, rebuke, reprove them with all authority and long suffering. Such a minister is indeed the father of his people, a good shepherd of the flock, a faithful ambassador of Christ, and one of the most honourable and the most useful characters in the earth.

The *utility* of so active a life needs not much to be insisted on; for it is sufficiently obvious. The grace of God will surely bless such faithful endeavours; and, therefore, though on account of the corrupt state of

the world and the depravity of human nature, too high expectations ought not to be indulged of the effects of ministerial exertions; yet much real good may justly be looked for from this quarter, through the powerful influence of the Holy Spirit. A considerable reformation will take place generally, and many will doubtless truly receive the grace of the Gospel, and bring forth the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, to the glory and praise of God. But it may be remarked, that the good produced by such exertions may not be confined to their immediate objects. The remote effects may be as great as those which are immediate: they may be the means of exciting in other ministers a similar zeal; of impressing the neighbouring clergy with a deeper conviction of the importance of ministerial diligence; and of inducing those who are serious, though too remiss, to be more watchful and laborious. For the force of example who can withstand, who can compute? That man must be obdurate indeed, who can be in the company of a highly active minister, and not feel abashed at his own negligence, and resolve to be more watchful.

Such exertions as I have described will also have great influence in removing any prejudices which may have been formed against a minister's doctrine, as if, while he insists upon salvation by grace through faith in Christ, he encouraged licentiousness: None can pretend that he inculcates a religion which exhausts itself in pious discourse and fruitless prayers. It will likewise be of the happiest service to a minister's own soul. Such a conduct will produce, as its general effect, tranquillity and peace of mind; and by a reciprocal action, it will have a great influence in keeping his heart right with God, and in enabling him to maintain an exemplary and pious conduct.

The practicability, however, of such active and laborious exertions may be doubted.

It must here be candidly acknowledged, that the degree of excellence to which it is possible for different persons to attain, is exceedingly different, and depends very much on the constitution and talents which they inherit from nature, the improvement which they have received in education, the circumstances in which they are placed, and the habits of life which they have acquired. It is not in the nature of things to be expected, that every one should possess the intrepidity of a Luther, the wise moderation of a Cranmer, the judgment of a Hooker, the indefatigable industry of a Baxter, the ardent piety of a Kenn, the energy of a Wesley, or the zeal of a Fletcher. Certain limits are assigned to us by nature itself, which it would be as vain in us to pretend to exceed, as it would be in the weak and timid sheep to rival the strength and fierceness of the lion. It is not, therefore, the object of this paper to incite all persons to do precisely the same things, to aspire to the same heights, or even to attempt the same degree of labour; but only to exert themselves to the utmost of their ability. The operations of divine grace itself appear to be limited by a similar rule. Quicquid recipitur ad modum recipientis est receptum. This maxim has been well illustrated by a reference to the various capacities of different vessels. All may be full, though there may be a great difference in the measure of their capacities. Let us, therefore, in our attempts, consider well our capacity. Some ministers are formed by nature for a studious retired life; others possess qualities fitting them for an active one. The body of one is weak, and incapable of much laborious exertion. An insuperable bashfulness oppresses another. A third possesses not a talent for conversing with the poor. A fourth labours under a nervous habit of body. And a fifth inherits a torpid and indolent frame, which can never be urged to long continued exertion.

Yet each of these may in their way be comparatively useful, by their studies at home, their discourses in the pulpit, or by a quiet mode of privately addressing those whom they find themselves able to speak to without doing violence to their feelings. The subaltern's place is not so honourable as that of the general, but it is still of indispensable use in the army. Let every one only conscientiously do what he is able. The time and the talents of every minister of Christ ought to be as scrupulously employed in his Lord's service, as those of any earthly servant in the work of his master. The mode in which he employs them is not directly described in Scripture, and must be left in a great measure to every man's conscience, remembering always that he must give a strict account to the master, in whose service he has been engaged, and for doing whose work he was paid. Our blessed Lord is not indeed a hard or unreasonable master; yet he has himself set us an example of the most persevering diligence and attention, which we are bound to imitate as far as may be in our power. I do not say that the *whole* of a minister's time ought to be exclusively employed in fulfilling ministerial duties, but surely the chief part of it ought to be devoted to this his proper employment. Let a minister compare his situation with that of a clerk or secretary in a commercial house or public office, or with that of an officer in a regiment. Six hours a day would at the least be required in these situations for official duties; and a smaller portion of time can scarcely be honestly given to the same object by the minister of Christ. Let the allotted hours be as faithfully and as usefully employed as his capacity and circumstances will permit, and, as conscience may direct, in some employment properly ministerial. The danger to which a man who is not of an active turn of mind is exposed, is that of wasting his time in his closet, on studies which are only remotely connected with his peculiar duties, and therefore of not turning his time and talents to so good an account as he might do, by employing them more directly in his Master's work. Many deceive themselves by a false judgment respecting the degree of connection which subsists between their employment and their duty; for it is not enough that there should be a connection, the connection ought to be intimate. A clergyman, who appears as the editor of a Greek play, may contribute, I admit, to the better knowledge of the Greek Testament; but the relation which this effect bears to his pastoral office is far too remote to justify such an appropriation of his talents and time.

I will conclude with laying down a few prudent rules to regulate a minister's activity.

1. Let him not undertake too much at once; nor be violent in pursuing his plans. Extremes are dangerous, and by attempting to do more than we are able to execute, we shall do nothing well. Let a minister, in the first place, endeavour to effect what appears most necessary, and is at the same time the easiest and the least contradictory to the feelings of his parishioners. These three advantages are not unfrequently found to unite in the same object; as for example, in the superintendence of schools, and the catechising of children; or in the reform of some very flagrant abuse. The utility of his proceeding in these respects will be so evident, that almost all, from regard to their own character, will be disposed to justify and assist him. A measure of this kind, steadily persisted in, will prepare both him and his people for another: whereas, if he were to begin at once with attempting to effect all that has been here mentioned, he might himself find the burden too great to be borne, and his people's prejudices might be excited to oppose what they would consider as rash innovations.

2. Let no one begin any plan before he has well weighed its expediency and utility. He will engage in it with a diligence which is likely to last when it is founded in judgment and knowledge. He will be also prepared to give an answer to those who question him and are ready to cavil at his proceedings. When a man has reason and conscience on his side, and has duly weighed the conduct he is pursuing, he need not be afraid to face the world, nor will the world probably be able effectually to oppose him.

3. Let prudence be united to zeal in the conduct of every minister. Let him especially avoid all appearance of ostentation. Humility and affection should accompany and adorn all he does. Let his people discover that he loves his flock, and is prompted by no spirit of ambition or forwardness, but only by an anxious desire to do them good. This, if real, will be sufficiently visible in the manner in which he acts. How different are the endeavours to reform of a turbulent demagogue from those of a tender father! Let there appear, therefore, in every pastor, a meekness of spirit; a candour, a willingness to listen to adversaries, and in no case a pertinacious determination to proceed, where the opposition is unsurmountable. He will often gain more by judicious and well timed concessions, than by obstinately persisting in his schemes. Let him be careful also to ascertain the probability of success before he begins any new undertaking. The advice of his friends amongst the people ought therefore to be taken. He will at least gain this by it: that having sanctioned his conduct, they will be ready to become his advocates.

4. Let him also take care, that what he does, is in the line of his duty as a minister. Whatever is a work of benevolence and piety, may indeed be said to be his proper work; but there is still a danger of his mixing too much in matters which are foreign to his office. Let the parish manage parochial affairs: Let each family regulate its domestic concerns: A minister has no business with them, except as the interests of religion and morality may be implicated. Let him avoid the character of a busy body as much as he aims at that of a zealous minister.

5. I add further, that order, regularity, and perseverance, are indispensably necessary for the improvement of time, and will enable men to do much without violent exertions. The time of a minister ought to be appropriated as regularly as that of a person in any other profession. Now, let us suppose only two hours daily to be invariably given to pastoral visits, and half an hour devoted to each visit: Such a disposal of time would enable him to pay one visit in the year to every family in his parish, even though it consisted of 12,000 souls, allowing the usual proportion of five persons to a family, and not including the Sundays, which are of course otherwise employed. This example may shew how much may be effected by judicious management; and it explains to us how some eminent ministers have been enabled to give so large a share of attention to their parish, while at the same time they have afforded so much time to writing. Judgment and method are full as necessary as diligence, in order to the useful employment of time.

Finally, let every minister be constant in prayer, knowing that he has a great work to do, which requires more strength and talents than he possesses by nature. From above he must derive that spirit of love which will prompt him to act, that prudence which will direct him, that courage which will brave dangers, that constancy which will enable him to persevere, that spirit of wisdom which none can resist and of purity which none can gainsay, that supply of patience which will support him under many discouragements, and that grace which will enable him to act from

the most upright motives, not as if he were playing a part, but as one who deeply feels the immense importance, and is thoroughly persuaded of the advantages of the work in which he is engaged. Let him direct his view to God, be doing the work of God, seeking the glory of God, depending upon the help of God, and then his labour will not be in vain in the Lord.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

I HAVE lately read with much pleasure, Mr. Faber's ingenious and learned dissertations on the prophecies: and cannot but think that he has thrown considerable light on the intricate and important subjects which he has undertaken to discuss. There is however one particular, in respect to which his interpretation appears to me so unsatisfactory, that with the hope of having my objections either refuted or confirmed, I shall take the liberty, through the medium of your publication, to make them known to your readers.

The point to which I allude, is the interpretation of the apocalyptic image of the beast, Rev. xiii. 14, 15. Vol. II. p. 288—303, 2d. edition. Mr. Faber gives, as I conceive, a just explanation of the two beasts described in this chapter; considering the first, which with seven heads and ten horns rises up out of the sea, to be emblematical of the secular Roman Empire; and the second, which with two horns rises up out of the earth, to be symbolical of the Latin Spiritual Empire—but when he comes to speak of the image, which this last beast induced the inhabitants of the earth to make and to worship, adopting the opinion of Dr. Zouch, he interprets this part of the prophecy as predicting the introduction and establishment of image worship by the Romish hierarchy. The expressions, which repeatedly occur in the apocalypse, of *the image of the beast*, and the *beast and his image*, have led the generality of commentators on this prophetical book, to suppose that the image which the second beast caused to be made, was a *representation* or *effigies* of the first beast. This interpretation, however, Mr. Faber opposes. He contends that these expressions admit of another signification, and are to be taken in a different sense. By *the image of the beast*, he understands *not the effigies* of the beast, but the image, which *belongs to the beast*: his image, not the *representation* of the beast, but the image which *was made for the use of* the beast. In support of this hypothesis, he adduces the manner in which the account of the image is introduced, and which in his view seems to remove all ambiguity on the subject. It is said, verse 14, that "they should make an image to* the beast" —ποιησαι εικονα πω θηριω. Hence Mr. Faber infers, that his interpretation must be right: for "to suppose that the making of an image to the beast can signify the making a representation of him, is surely putting a very great force upon language." And then, in confirmation of his argument, he adduces the prohibition in the decalogue, referring to idolatry. "Thou shalt not make *unto thee* any graven image," i. e. *for thy own use and worship*. Now, Sir, I readily allow that there is something plausible in this reasoning: at the same time it is very far from carrying conviction to my mind. It appears to me by no means clear, that the expression ποιησαι εικονα τω θηριω may not, in the idiom of the Greek language, be under-

* Mr. Faber reads *for*, but *to* is the reading of our common translation: and here it may not be amiss to remark, that in quoting from the Scriptures, no deviation from the received translation should ever be made without apprising the reader of the liberty which has been taken: a rule, which, probably through inadvertence, has not been generally attended to in these volumes.

stood to signify the making a representation *of* the beast. At least, I think that Mr. Faber, where he builds so large a superstructure on this foundation, should have bestowed some pains in endeavouring to convince his readers, that he was not raising it on the sand. The following passage, taken from Palæphatus de Incredibilibus Historiis, if it may be considered as of any authority, will certainly militate against Mr. Faber's interpretation. Speaking Περι Νιοβης, the writer says, Νιοβη, αποθανοντων των εαυτης παιδων, ποιησασα εαυτΗ εικονα λιθινην, εστησεν επι τω τυμβω των παιδων. "Niobe, her children being dead, having made a marble image *to* herself," i. e. a representation of herself in marble, from whence, says Palæphatus, the fable of her being turned into marble originated, "placed it over the sepulchre of her children." Now if ποιησασα εαυτΗ εικονα signifies the making an image *of* herself, I see not why ποιησαι εικονα τω θηριΩ may not signify making an image *of* the beast. There is also a passage in the Old Testament, which perhaps may throw some further light on this subject. In 2 Chron. xxviii. 2, we are told of Ahaz, that "he walked in the ways of the Kings of Israel, and made also molten images *for* Baalim." It may be said, that to make images *for* Baalim, may mean to make them *for conducting the worship* of Baalim. This I allow—but still I would ask, were not these images representations also *of* those Baalim, *for* whom they were made?

I have dwelt the longer on this point, because it is the corner-stone of Mr. Faber's argument. Let it once be removed, and his whole hypothesis falls to the ground. The converse of this proposition, however, is not equally true. Should the point in question be conceded to him, it does not therefore follow that his hypothesis will stand. For let us admit, that to make an image *for* the beast, means the making an image *for the use and worship of the beast;* yet why must it necessarily result from this admission, that the making this image for the use and worship of the beast, means the setting up of images, and the establishing of image-worship in the Church? I should contend, that such a conclusion is utterly inadmissible on Mr. Faber's own principles, and involves the very inconsistency, which, in his preface to the first edition, he himself objects to Mr. Whitaker's Commentary; namely, that of "explaining the prophecies of the Apocalypse, sometimes figuratively, and sometimes literally." (See p. xii. of the pref.) "The whole book (says Mr. Faber) excepting those few passages which are avowedly descriptive, must be understood, either *literally* throughout, or *figuratively* throughout; otherwise it will be utterly impossible to ascertain the meaning designed to be conveyed," (p. xiii.) I fully assent to the propriety of this rule. But how does the interpretation in question accord with it? If the image, which the second beast caused to be made for the use of the first beast, means *literally* an image, which the beast might worship and adore; there is no *figurative* meaning in the expression—and consequently, according to the rule laid down, the *whole prophecy* must be taken in a *literal* meaning—the beasts must be *literal* beasts: the horns *literal* horns: the sea and the earth, the *literal* sea and the *literal* earth. But if all these expressions are to be understood in a *figurative* sense (as they undoubtedly are) then will it follow, that the *image* also must be interpreted *figuratively*. It must have a *symbolical* and not a *literal* meaning; and consequently cannot admit of the interpretation to which I am objecting.

But there are further grounds of another kind, on which also I would found my opposition. It is said of the second, or ecclesiastical beast, that "he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak,

and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed." (v. 15.) Now, what explanation does Mr. Faber put on this part of the prophecy? Agreeably to his scheme of interpretation, he considers "the giving life to the image of the beast, that it should speak," as referring to those mechanical contrivances, by which the Romish hierarchy imposed on the deluded multitude, and gave to the images, which were set up for gods, the semblance of life and speech. But surely such an explanation falls very far beneath the majesty and dignity of the inspired writings. To my mind, at least, it appears a supposition highly incongruous to imagine, that the springs and wires, by means of which these mummeries were acted, should be the subject of divine prophecy. Besides, what is here said of the image must equally apply to the * WHOLE of whatever may be meant by it. How far indeed it may be justifiable to interpret the expression of *the image* as comprehending all the collective multitude of images, which might be set up in every part of the kingdom of the beast throughout the whole period of 1260 years, is a question, which of itself might furnish some ground for serious enquiry: but even waving this objection, and admitting such a mode of interpretation to be just, we must at least expect that the characteristic mark here ascribed to *the image*, should generally belong *to by far the larger part of the images* comprehended under it. But has this been really the case? Out of the immense profusion of idols, set up by means of the Romish hierarchy, has not the number of these *animated puppits* been comparatively very small? Here and there perhaps some prodigy appeared; some more illustrious representation of the virgin, or the effigies of some more favoured saint was to be found; to whom, through the ingenious machinery applied to it, life was given that it might speak. But the generality of these claimants to divinity made no pretensions of this kind. They were to all appearance as lifeless and speechless as the materials of which they were actually composed: and, consequently as they did not answer to the description given of their supposed symbol, so neither were they the objects intended to be symbolised.

Nor is the explanation of the latter clause of this passage, in my judgment, more happy or admissible than that of the preceding one. The second beast had power to give life to the image, not only that it should speak, but also that it should "cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed." One special mark of heresy (says Mr. Faber, in reference to this part of the prophecy) was *a refusal to worship images;* and that refusal, like the similar refusal of the primitive Christians to adore the idols of the Gentiles, never failed to subject the martyrs of Popery to the horrors of the most dreadful deaths." Thus then it was, according to Mr. Faber, that the image caused the death of those who refused to worship it. But I must submit it to the judgment of your readers, whether such an interpretation comes at all up to the meaning and spirit of the prophecy. In the sense adopted, the images indeed may be said to have afforded a pretence for persecuting and destroying the true people of God; but not to have *actively* put them to death, as the words forcibly imply. Let us look at the original text. Και εδοθη αυτω δουναι πνευμα τη εικονι του θηριου, ινα και λαλησῃ ηεικων του θηριου, και ποιησῃ, οσοι αν μη πρσοσκυνησωσι την εικονα του θηριου, ινα αποκτανθωσι. I think it hardly possible to read over this passage, without being at once convinced, that the *speaking* and *causing* (ινα και λαλησῃ, και ποιησῃ that it should

* See Mr. Faber's second principle for interpreting the prophecies. Preface to the first edition.

both speak and cause) here ascribed to the image, relate to things which were *actively* to be done by it, and which in fact would be the operating effects of that life which was to be given to it by the beast. The obvious meaning of ποιησῃ is, that it should *cause* or *practise*: and on consulting Parkhurst's Lexicon, out of the 26 senses, which he gives to the word ποιεω, I cannot find one which signifies to *furnish an occasion*, the sense in which it must here be understood, in order to support Mr. Faber's interpretation. Could it indeed have been shewn, that the images to which the semblance of life and speech was artfully communicated, by means of other mechanical movements, had generally been used as the *instruments* also for punishing those who refused to worship them, then indeed some shew of argument might have been deduced from the text in support of the hypothesis I am combating. But as no attempt of this nature is, or can be made, the plain grammatical meaning of the passage strongly militates, in my apprehension, against the use which is endeavoured to be made of it.

On the whole, my objections to Mr. Faber's interpretation of the apocalyptic image stand thus. I object,

1. That if it ever was uncertain, whether the *image of the beast* be a *representation of* the first beast, or an *image made for his use and worship*, the uncertainty still remains. Whatever ambiguity may be supposed to hang over the expression, Mr. Faber has not removed it.

2. That if it were clearly proved that the image was an image for the use and worship of the beast, yet it could not even then be considered as representing a *literal* image, without involving the evident inconsistency of introducing into the same prophecy a *literal* and a *figurative* interpretation.

3. That the semblance of life and speech, produced by the aid of secret mechanical contrivances, has been imparted but to a very small number of false objects of adoration, compared with the multitude of idols to which divine honour has been paid by the Church of Rome, and that therefore it cannot be applied as a general and characteristic mark of the images set up to be worshipped.

4. That the image is described, in the text of St. John, not merely as *furnishing an occasion or pretence* for killing those who refused to worship it, but as itself *practising* their death, and taking *an active part* in shedding their blood.

On these premises, I conclude that whatever the image of the beast may really symbolize, Mr. Faber's interpretation of it is certainly erroneous.

Before I lay down my pen, I am desirous of saying, that I have not taken it up, so far as I know my own heart, with any portion of a controversial spirit. Should what I have written come under the eye of the learned author, whose hypothesis I have ventured to question, I beg leave to assure him, how much I esteem his character, respect his talents, and wish success to his studies and labours. A desire after truth is the sole motive which has prompted me to enter on this discussion: and so desirous am I of attaining the truth, that I should most willingly see all my objections entirely overthrown, and Mr. Faber's interpretation completely and unanswerably established.

SOCIUS.

ON DR. TAYLOR'S KEY. NO. VII. CHAP. III.

Justification. Remarks upon Dr. Taylor's View of that Subject.

If we may not say that justification by faith is the principal doctrine, we may certainly say, that it is one of the principal doctrines of the gospel. For, of the scriptural records of doctrine and duty it may be observed, as Seneca observes of some writings of the ancients, *Quo-*

cumque miseris oculum, id tibi occurrit quod eminere posset nisi inter paria legeretur [1]. It is very evident, that the term justification, and all the terms used in connection with it,—the whole scene, if we may be allowed the expression, is of a *forensic* description. There is, however, a sublime generality and reserve, like that observed in representations of the final and general judgment, which never permits us to lower our ideas to the transactions of human judicatures [2].

Δικαιοσυνη is the word by which justification is expressed in the New Testament. The Hebrew word which it *principally* represents is צדק. The original meaning is either universal rectitude, or justice properly so understood. As it is difficult to determine between the two, so is it altogether unnecessary. That both in the Hebrew and in the Greek it has the meaning of justice is evident to the slightest examination of the subject. Buxtorf, whose later editions of his Hebrew Lexicon were sent forth after the publication of his Concordance, has given no other meaning to the word than *justitia*. The Greek word was evidently used by the Greek translators, in the common heathen sense; for when they set about their work, there was no Hebrew idiom of the Greek language, the origin of which idiom is principally to be ascribed to their performance. Now δικαιοσυνη is evidently, in heathen usage, a judicial term. The primitive δικη signifies justice. And hence it is that the verb δικαιω signifies both the opposite effects of acquittal and condemnation; because both are the result of a just adjudication, as the party concerned is innocent or guilty. Δικαιοσυνη is likewise used by the seventy interpreters to express the Hebrew חסד, which denotes benignity, and therefore must signify benignity itself. It probably came to acquire this meaning from the circumstance, that, as the exercise of justice among men cannot always be enforced, and is therefore in such cases very commonly disregarded, so the voluntary performance of it is accounted an act of kindness especially to those who are benefited by it. It is probably on account of this singular association of ideas, that the psalmist ascribes to the *mercy* of God that act of justice, whereby he renders to every man according to his work [3]. But this meaning is by far the least common [4].

The New Testament, however, is, after all, the proper place to determine the meaning of that word which is employed to express one of its principal doctrines, and particularly the epistle to the Romans, where the doctrine of justification is professedly and most systematically discussed. Justification, in its forensic sense, expresses both an act and a state. As an *act*, it is most properly expressed by the *verb*; and in this form the forensic sense will be found to be most decisively conveyed. Thus, in the epistle to the Romans, God is said to "be just, and the *justifier* (δικαιευντα) of

[1] Ep. xxxiii.

[2] Had it not been for a suspicion of some *double* meanings, and the discovery of some single ones which I do not altogether approve, I should have felt a pleasure in transcribing on this subject the 310th section of Dr. Taylor's Key. There is a very curious but very *natural* erratum at the end, in the edition which I adhere to, of *external* salvation for *eternal* salvation. See the original edition, § 278. Dr. Taylor might as justly lower the term justification to the sense which it bears in its original application, as other Christian ones to their original Jewish sense.

[3] Ps. lxii. ult. The Hebrew word for mercy is חסד. David deprecates God's entering into *judgment* with him, Ps. cxliii. 2.

[4] See, in proof of the general assertions in this paragraph, the Concordance of Trommius. The idea of justification is very decisively represented in Isaiah v. 23, "which *justify* the wicked for reward," &c. and this is translated in the Septuagint οι δικαιευντες κ. τ. λ.

him which believeth in Jesus [5]." "Therefore we conclude, that a man is *justified* by faith without the deeds of the law [6]." "It is one God, which shall *justify* the circumcision by faith," &c. [7]. "Being *justified* by faith, we have peace with God," &c. [8]. "It is God that *justifieth* [9]." The forensic meaning is still further confirmed by those passages which declare, that by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be *justified* in the sight of God [10]. The substantive doubtless conveys the same meaning as used in the epistle to the Romans, and in that to the Galatians, and elsewhere. In the proposition of the subject of the first of these epistles, the apostle, explaining in what *manner* the gospel is the power of God unto salvation, and not merely repeating the same ideas, says, "For therein is the *righteousness* (δικαιοσυνη) of God revealed," &c. [11]. "Grace" is said to "reign through *righteousness* unto eternal life [12]." It would produce an unmeaning tautology in both these places to explain righteousness in its unusual, and, in this connection, unnecessary, nay prohibited sense, of *mercy*. Again: "the Gentiles which followed not after *righteousness*, have attained to *righteousness*, even the righteousness which is of faith: but Israel, which followed after the law of *righteousness*, hath not attained to the law of *righteousness* [13]." These passages are scarcely intelligible on any other interpretation than the forensic one; and together with the train of argument in which they appear, make it evident, that the doctrine of justification, as described and declared in those parts of Scripture which most professedly discuss the matter, imports, that God, of his unmerited grace or mercy, (unmerited, as we are concerned,) for the sake of the meritorious obedience and death of his Son, has consented to pardon the guilt of those of the human race, who by faith will accept of the benefit, henceforward, and through the influence of the Holy Spirit, to walk in obedience to the divine commandments, and thus continue in the state of pardon and acceptance, into which their faith, exclusive of all obedience, has brought them, and which will terminate, if they continue faithful unto death, in that acquittal which shall be pronounced upon the righteous at the last day. As the whole world, Jewish and Heathen, was concluded under sin [14], so both parts of the world are particularly specified as needing, and being the subjects of, the revealed evangelical justification [15]. And not only *is* this justification, with all its consequences, of pure grace with relation to us; but that it might *appear* such and effectually exclude all merit on our part [16], faith, simple faith, as detached from the good works of which it is nevertheless the certain parent when it is genuine [17], is represented as the connecting medium by which the justification is appropriated and rendered personal. If moral works were not intended, and indeed principally intended, in this exclusion from the office of justifying, not only *a* ground, but the *highest* ground, of boasting would be left; and the faith, which is comprehensive of all Christian obedience, as justifying, would imply the highest merit in man of which a moral agent is capable. This argument alone, although many might be added to

[5] iii. 25. [6] ver. 28.
[7] ver. 30. [8] v. 1.
[9] viii. 33. See likewise Gal. ii. 16, 17; iii. 24.
[10] Rom. iii. 20; Gal. ii. 16; iii. 11.
[11] Rom. i. 17. So the conclusion, iii. 21, 22. [12] v. 21.
[13] ix. 30, 31. See x. 4, 10; 2 Cor. iii. 9; Gal. iii. 21. Phil. iii. 6—9; Heb. xi. 7.
[14] Rom. i. and ii. [15] Rom. iii. 30.
[16] See Rom. iii. 27, 28; xi. 6; and Eph. ii. 8—10.
[17] See Gal. v. 6; James ii. 22; Col. i. 23; 2 Thess. i. 3; 2 Pet. i. 5; 2 Cor. x. 15; Col. ii. 5; 1 Tim. i. 5; with other texts quoted by Dr. Taylor, Key, § 284; although he has adduced them to distinguish his second faith from his first.

them, is sufficient to prove, that faith, as it is the instrument of appropriating the justification procured by Christ, is represented as exclusive of *all works* which can be esteemed meritorious, and most exclusive of those which are most meritorious [18]. From all which it appears, that justification by faith alone in Jesus Christ is one, homogeneous blessing, which, like every other that is not conferred and withdrawn in the same literal instant, has a beginning, a continuance, and an end; is initial, manent, and final. This blessing, when real, is essentially the same *in kind*, from beginning to end. Holiness, not as a meritorious cause, but as a qualifying principle, is required in the very first entrance into a state of acceptance or justification; and that holiness, maintained, as it was communicated, by the Holy Spirit, is absolutely necessary during the whole of our continuance in such a state. There is not in Scripture any mention or the slightest intimation, of two or more justifications different in kind, *so* different as, the first to be of grace, the last of works [19]. Yet this is the opinion adopted by Dr. Taylor, and therefore, with its attendant doctrines and arguments, is now to be considered.

The idea of a double justification originated with the Papists [20]: but they evidently confounded justification with regeneration. The first among the Protestants who appears to have adopted this notion of justification is the Socinian Crellius, from whose commentary two passages to this purpose are introduced by Bp. Watson, in his short commendatory preface to Dr. Taylor's Key. But he seems to consider the first faith, procuring the first justification, as sincere; for he affirms, that justification lasts, *quamdiu in nobis* durat *fides*, *eaque viva*, &c.: which seems to imply an identity of the two faiths; since two things of a different nature may be said to succeed each other, but hardly to be the *enduring* or continuing the one of the other.

Dr. Taylor, however, boldly avows it to be his chief intention to establish a double justification, whereof the first, as he terms it, is by faith alone, and the final, using again his own term, is by works [21]. Two or three things are worth observing before we come to the direct examination of the systematic hypothesis of this author. It is remarkable, that having called his second justification final, he never thought of calling the first initial. But this natural relation of terms would have implied an identity in the two subjects, which directly opposes the Doctor's hypothesis of their essential diversity. In defect of scriptural authority for the numerical terms, as well as ideas, which he has adopted, he appeals, although faintly, to the expression "first faith," which certain female apostates are said to have cast off [22]; doubtless considering his *simple profession* to be intended by the words. It would be logic of a similar description, and of not inferior force, to conclude that the "first love," which the Ephesians are said to have left, was likewise nothing more than profession [23].

In the chapter, which Dr. Taylor has entirely devoted to a discussion

[18] The peculiar system of Dr. Taylor allows him to admit this truth. See Key, § 279 and 377, and his notes on the Epistle to the Romans. The same is the case with Whitby, Wetstein, and others. With the rest of their opinion about the double justification, I have nothing to do here. Dr. Taylor, however, with singular inconsistency, interprets "works," Rom. xi. 6, of the ceremonial works of the Jewish law only. See paraphrase on the place. He found himself in the region of his second justification, in which his system makes moral works the principal part.

[19] See Schleusner on δικαιοω.

[20] Hooker's Discourse of Justification, § 5; and Limborch, Theol. Christ. l. vi. c. iv. § iii.

[21] § 275, &c.

[22] 1 Tim. v. 12. See Key, § 283.

[23] Rev. ii. 4.

of the scriptural notion of righteousness and justification [24], there is a long examination of the term δικαιοσυνη as used and understood in the present inquiry. His instances from the Old Testament, which are numerous, inconclusive, and many of them either mistaken or doubtful, are directed to the purpose of generalizing the term, and rendering it flexible to his own system. We are told accordingly, that justification, and its correspondent terms, in Hebrew and Greek *frequently* signify moral rectitude in general; *sometimes* goodness, mercy; *sometimes* deliverance, salvation. From certain instances in the New Testament, which are by no means more decisive, or rather are the very instances under controversy, he infers, that justification and to be justified "have relation to ANY grant of favour, ANY instance of mercy and goodness, whereby God delivers or exempts from any kind of danger, suffering, or calamity; or confers ANY favour, blessing, or privilege [25]. In the mean time, what must be known to be the most proper, and most common acceptation is totally overlooked. If it be allowable to interpret words at will by the meaning *of which they are capable*, almost any doctrine may be extracted from any given words.

The principal and most plausible foundation of a scriptural kind upon which Dr. Taylor supports his system, is the assertion of St. James, "that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only [26]." Many Christians have been laudably anxious for the united credit of this Apostle, and the Apostle whom he apparently contradicts. While others have found no difficulty in supposing, that St. James, in this place, is only distinguishing a true and productive faith from a false, barren, and only pretended one. In fact, the two Apostles do not seem to be speaking of the same subject, although the coincidence of terms may lead an unwary reader to imagine that they are. It is questionable whether St. James is not speaking of faith, generally considered, as terminating upon God, and not that which has immediate respect to Christ, as the foundation of our acceptance in his sight. The term *justify*, in this connection, seems to denote the proof given by works of the sincerity of the faith which was accompanied by them. At all events, the meaning which Dr. Taylor and his followers affix to the passage in question is very feebly supported.

The *first justification* of Dr. Taylor is of grace and without works. It consists in remission of sins, for the obtaining of which the profession of Christianity alone is necessary. Yet men were called to repentance in order to it, as we are likewise told. To reconcile, lies with the author, unless there might be a *first* repentance as insincere and yet available as the first faith. In this state, (remission of sins), the children of Christians are born; and this blessing is not conferred upon, but sealed to them by baptism [27]. This justification, the first, seems likewise to be confined by our author to Heathens, and to import exclusively deliverance from heathenish idolatry and darkness [28], although the Apostle expressly asserts its necessity to both the Jews and the Heathens, and that in a portion of his epistle, where Dr. Taylor supposes him to be treating of the first justification [29].

The *final justification* is of works, not only as producing or requiring them, but as being founded upon them. By the improper epithet here used, the Doctor intends a continuance in well-doing to the end.

Corresponding to this double jus-

[24] The xvith. [25] § 374.

[26] James ii. 24.

[27] § 276, 277, 281.

[28] See § 276, 312, 375.

[29] Rom. iii. 50. See Dr. Taylor's Paraphrase.

tification is the double faith of this zealous, but not most correct, *divider* of the word of truth.

The *first faith*, which procures the first justification, "*was*," as our author affirms, "*profession*, considered simply and separately from the *fruits* and *effects* of it[30]." It was accordingly without works, moral ones, not merely as excluding their meritorious efficacy, but their very existence; for it is very plainly implied, that their absence alone could leave a possibility of justification being conferred by *grace*[31].

The *second faith* is attended by works, and on their account, entitles to final justification. Yet, by a most unfortunate concession, "our full and final justification is of *grace*, 2 Tim. i. 18; Jude 21[32]." The only resource on this occasion is a double sense.

It can hardly be esteemed necessary to offer any other refutation of this hypothesis concerning justification and faith, than that which is contained in the previous statement of those doctrines, and in the present representation itself of what I conceive to be Dr. Taylor's heretical view of them.

[30] § 283. It may be remarked here, to what oversights Dr. Taylor exposes himself by not keeping in his mind a clear impression of his own system. He repeatedly talks of a profession of faith, although this, with him, is only profession: it is therefore, in plain English, *a profession of profession*. See in this section, and likewise the preceding.

[31] § 276, 279, 280, 377. [32] § 377.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THOUGH your correspondent's letter upon anger, in your number for April last, has made little or no difference in my sentiments, as expressed in the paper on which he animadverts, yet I think it better to leave our opinions with the arguments by which we have respectively supported them, to the judgment of your readers, than give an air of controversy to the discussion by a reply. There is only one point on which I wish to say a word. Your correspondent thinks, that my supposition, that St. Mark, who probably thought in Hebrew, though he wrote in Greek, might use the Greek word for anger in the sense of a Hebrew word signifying either grief or anger, is inconsistent with the divine inspiration of the Scriptures; since the spirit of inspiration would have interposed in such a case, to prevent him from misleading successive generations by the wrong use of the Greek word. Now, if this view of the case were just, we should have no Greek words used by the sacred writers in any sense, but that in which they are found in the pure Greek writers. But it is notorious, that very many words are employed by them in a different manner, in consequence of their familiarity with customs and a language very different from those of Greece. Nor is this calculated to mislead the readers of Scripture, who are bound to bear in mind, that the writers were Jews, and not Greeks, and to understand them accordingly.

R. S.

For the Christian Observer.

ON THE GRADUAL AND INSIDIOUS PROGRESS OF SIN.

IT is a common saying, that no man becomes very wicked at once. Men are prepared by degrees for the last acts of iniquity. Ask the murderer how he came to imbrue his hands in blood. He will tell you, that he was first light and thoughtless, then loose and extravagant; and that having thus brought himself into difficulties, having also associated himself with bad company, he was tempted to some little act of injustice which he meant, perhaps, to repair, and certainly to commit but for once. The fraud was resorted to as the means of deliverance from urgent distress; but the

devil having tempted him to perpetrate this single act, he was induced to repeat the crime, even though a little less pressed by want; so that the same act under these new circumstances had more sin in it. At last, murder became necessary to conceal theft, and seemed only to be a part of the same iniquity.

Ask, in like manner, the unhappy woman, who has not only forfeited her character, but has lost all regard to decency, and whose very trade is that of corrupting others, how she arrived at so great a pitch of wickedness, she will tell you that it was by slow degrees. At first she secretly indulged improper thoughts; a too free behaviour followed, improper conversation was permitted, little liberties were taken; and if a parent or friend reproved her, she pleaded that these liberties were insignificant. She began by trifling with temptation, and now she is the most abandoned of her species. Take, in short, any character that is now infamous; his history, if he were to tell it to you, would be the same. What abandoned sinners are some men—what cheats, what liars, what blasphemers of God—what despisers of all that is good! Is thy servant a dog, said Hazael, that he should commit this thing? Hazael could not believe his nature to be capable of the crime which the Prophet told him that he should perpetrate. The sins of some men are so dreadful, that we stand astonished at them. We look on these persons as beings of another nature; as scarcely human. Alas! the wickedest man that lives, is only one who has fallen by little and little; he has been, perhaps, for some time, proceeding in this downward path. That vile wretch, whom you loath, was once perhaps in nearly the same condition as you; he had a conscience which smote him when he did evil; he had a general regard to God and godliness; he had a blushing cheek, and a modest look; a habit of kneeling down in worship, or in seeming worship, in the same manner as you.

Let us explain this point very familiarly. A child, let it be supposed, is taught to say his prayers: he is instructed that God's eye is upon him; he is habituated to public as well as private worship, and his conscience yet is tender. He goes, perhaps, to school, where some older and more hardened boy is found to laugh at prayer; and this schoolfellow sleeps with him. The child is ashamed to be seen praying. He says his prayers behind the curtain, or perhaps after he is in bed. Instead of taking a regular time for prayer, he now becomes slack in this duty, and often puts it off till a convenient opportunity. Instead of praying to God, both in the morning and at night, he prays only in the morning, or only at night; and instead of praying every morning, he is hindered by some interruptions, once, twice, or many times in the week. Thus he falls gradually. And now, perhaps he thinks it sufficient to pay his devotions at Church; possibly also he puts up a few words in the way of prayer when seized by sickness, when frightened by some extraordinary calamity, or overcome by a more than common sin. As his years advance, and as his parents or master exert less influence over him, he grows lax in respect to his observation of the Sabbath—he rises late on a Sunday, and he is late at Church; he is hurried by worldly business, and has hardly time, as he pretends, to worship God. The most trifling excuses are now sufficient to detain him from public worship. He is not sufficiently dressed; he has a cold or a little head-ache, and there is no convenient seat for him. He goes now and then to Church in the morning, but not always in the evening, and after a time in the morning only, and not always even then. The Sabbath now is employed in more trifling conversation than formerly. Instead of regularly reading the Bi-

ble or some religious book, he applies himself to religion only when the humour takes him. The humour takes him less and less frequently. His prayers and his Sabbaths being neglected, the thought of God dwells less and less on his mind. Worldly business or pleasure possesses him. Any thing but God is in his thoughts. He can spend hours without thinking of God. By degrees, whole days pass by without a reflection respecting his Maker.

Habits of swearing often grow on a person in the same gradual manner. First he learns to use an improper word, such as, O Lord, or O God—Lord bless me, or Lord help me; and then he proceeds a little further. He sits much among swearing persons, and then his sense of the sin is weakened. He swears at first only when in a great passion, and afterwards when in a little passion; and at last when he is in no passion. Men fall in this respect very imperceptibly. Let us notice the unbelief which is at the same time increasing. A man who uses the name of God to swear by it is likely to grow hardened in unbelief. Some begin by exercising their wit on religious things. They joke at the particularity of some good man, which they couple with his religion; and having first mocked those who are good, for their infirmities, they proceed to mock at what is not their infirmity; they mock at their very goodness. They now grow merry as often as they speak on religious subjects—they joke about passages of Scripture—at length they make a joke of all Scripture, and there is no road by which men advance more rapidly to a profane unbelieving spirit than this. What we often make the subject of our merriment, we cannot at any time much reverence. It is thus that both the Holy Scriptures, and every other thing which is sacred, become the subject of a man's raillery during his cups, and this profaneness is perhaps at length coupled with indecent and licentious conversation, which is the highest pitch of profaneness.

So also in respect to every vice which can be named, the steps by which men advance are small. The glutton or drunkard first is a little nice respecting his meat and drink—he values the pleasure of a meal too highly—his meat must be of the best kind, his liquor strong and highly flavoured. He grows more and more curious in his taste. He talks much of his wine and of his dishes, and sits long at his table—his meals are more in number than is necessary for health; he also takes a glass of wine between them. He finds that he has more and more desire for this intervening cordial—the habit grows—the stomach is more and more craving—he becomes first a tippler, and then an occasional drunkard, and then a thorough drunkard.

In respect also to dishonesty, a man's fall is commonly gradual. Some begin by borrowing what they partly mean to restore, but what they know that they very possibly may never be able to pay, though they do not say so; and they borrow more and more money, though they have less and less chance of returning it. Some begin with taking a very little matter—it is too little, as they think, to be noticed by the owner, or by their own consciences. Having taken one trifle, they add another: they take a little of the smaller kind of fruit, and from small fruit they proceed to larger fruit, and from fruit to many other little things. Having taken a few trifles, in order to eat themselves, they take a few more, in order to give them away, and they soon find that they can obtain some favour in return. By degrees they take, in order to sell: and thus they are perfected in the trade of stealing.

Lying is a sin which also grows on us by degrees. What is a lie? Is every false word a lie? Is it a lie to call a thing greater or less than it is? I answer, that he who uses himself to speak too largely, and

to assert positively what he knows but in part, will learn, if he indulges this temper, to speak still more largely, and to pronounce still more positively, till he loses his respect for truth. Endeavour then to measure every word you speak; be correct, and think not that this is a small matter.

A man's general temper is also apt to fail in the same gradual manner. How many have indulged some little selfish, peevish, or fretful humour, and, as they have continually thought, only for a minute; till these evil dispositions have gained full possession of them. Waste of time may also be mentioned. We think it a little matter to waste a few minutes, forgetting, that out of these minutes hours are made, that hours constitute days, and that of days, life itself consists. We neglect, minute after minute, because each is but a minute. We sit down only for a minute at some idle employment, and in some easy posture, and thus our idle habits grow upon us.

Want of economy is to be traced to the same negligence of small things. The bulk of our expence is made up of trifling sums, and as he that wastes his minutes will be found to trifle away his life, so he that throws away his shillings will be found to trifle away his substance.

What then is the way in which we must learn to avoid both sin in general and every sin in particular. "*He that despiseth small things,*" says an apophrical writer, "shall fall by little and little." It is by not despising small things that we shall avoid both those greater and lesser degrees of iniquity.

What then is it to despise small things? it is to *make light* of them—it is to make light of them because they are small. We suppose a little matter to be a little evil, whereas a little matter may be a great evil—it may be a precedent for many other evils. A little evil, many times repeated, becomes great; and the reason for committing this little evil the second time, will seem just as good as for committing it at the first. We should be afraid, therefore, of little negligences and sins. We should be afraid of all such language as the following. "Why, surely this is so trifling an indulgence, it is so small a saving, it is so slight a departure from truth, it is such an insignificant breach of the Sabbath, it is such an unimportant diminutive matter, that it is not worthy of my attention. Great sins, indeed, I abhor as much as any man, but such little sins, if indeed they are sins, I never can attend to." Do you indeed hate great sins? Then beware of little ones. This is the great art of the devil. The constant excuse with which he supplies us, is that of saying, "Is it not a little one?" To move one step in sin beyond that which we have already taken, is all that he asks at present. When we have advanced this step, then another will be taken. Now each of these single steps is little. Every sin in this sense is small, for it is only a small addition to the sin which went before. Each sin seems therefore diminutive to the sinner. The plea of smallness is ever returning. It is the apology for all crimes.

Did you never find this answer given you by one whom you reproved for sin? Or, rather, did you ever find any one who did *not* thus excuse himself? The fault in question is always a small one. Other men's sins seem great sins. Past sins of our own seem perhaps to be great, or future sins of our own, would, if described to us, appear great; but *our own and our present* sin is always a little one. It will be said, perhaps, but is this the doctrine of the Gospel? Does not the Gospel teach us to repent of all sin at once, and to become new creatures through the all-powerful influence of the Holy Spirit? And should we not attend to the great work of our conversion, rather than to the little obliquities which have been spoken of? I answer, that one proof of conversion to God is our

not making light of small sins. He who loves God as he ought, he who is redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, may know his faith to be sincere, chiefly by this test—namely, that he will make much of those sins which other men make so little of—he will ever be magnifying what they are ever excusing. As it is the way of sinners to plead in favour of sin, so it is his to plead against it.

I conclude with remarking, that as the sinner falls by degrees, so the servant of God rises step by step. Improvement in holiness, like improvement in sin, is gradual; for the path of the just is as the shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day. N. Y.

MISCELLANEOUS.

REVIEW OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. No. IV.

"EVERY project of a material change in a government so complicated as ours, combined at the same time with external circumstances still more complicated, is a matter full of difficulties, in which a considerate man will not be too ready to decide, a prudent man too ready to undertake, or an honest man too ready to promise. They do not respect the public nor themselves, who engage for more than they are sure they ought to attempt, or are able to perform."

BURKE. Thoughts on the cause of the present discontents.

THE peace thus* concluded by Lord Bute, and condemned by Mr. Pitt, was far from being generally acceptable. Addresses were procured with difficulty from different parts of the kingdom; but the counties of York and Surrey refused to concur even in these ceremonial civilities, and it soon became evident, that the minister was becoming daily more and more unpopular. The odium to which he was thus in some measure innocently subjected, he had the imprudence to increase, by a measure peculiarly offensive to the feelings of the country, and certainly not very conducive to its interests. In order to supply a revenue for discharging the interest of a new loan, it was determined to impose a tax on cyder and perry. This duty was made payable by the growers, or, to speak more correctly, by the first manufacturers of those articles; and as the regulations of the excise were extended to the collection of this impost, Britons perceived, or thought they perceived, in the proposed loan, a violation of their personal immunities and private repose Much was urged, both in and out of parliament, on those topics, and Mr. Pitt, as the champion of public liberty, insisted vehemently on the sanctity which the laws of this country attributed to the mansion of an Englishman. Undoubtedly the measure was ill-advised. The tax was unequal †, and therefore imprudent; and the means adopted for enforcing it in the highest degree vexatious and oppressive. Petitions on this subject were presented to both houses of parliament, instructions communicated to their representatives from the counties and cities in the west, and two spirited protests entered on the journals of the house of peers by some of the dissenting Lords. The minister, however, persevered; the act passed; and the clamour which had been raised against it was likely gradually to subside, when, to the mutual astonishment of his

* See the last paper, April 1807, p. 238.

† The same sum was levied on every barrel of cyder, though their respective prices varied, according to the quality of the liquor, from eight to fifty shillings.

friends and enemies, Lord Bute suddenly resigned.

The causes which induced that nobleman thus precipitately to retire from office, yet remain unexplained. His opponents charged him loudly with cowardice; while his supporters and panegyrists assigned, as less degrading motives, his natural fondness for privacy, and the disgust which he felt in the growing discontents of the public. It is probable that many circumstances concurred to determine his resolution; and perhaps that share of constitutional indolence which appears to have been united in him with a strong desire of power, was among them. The public clamours, however, were certainly becoming troublesome, and Lord Bute was singularly ill-qualified for the conduct of a popular government, during violent periods. He had not duly appreciated the importance of public opinion, and his ignorance, concurring with some loftiness of aristocratic sentiment, led him imprudently to despise it. But what he had the weakness to disregard while but faintly audible, he had not fortitude to resist, when the discontents, which at first circulated only in murmurs, became loud and passionate. The alarm which he felt at the symptoms of growing turbulence, joined to some cabinet embarrassments, probably induced him to effect a hasty retreat; but retreats are seldom successful, and the public indignation pursuing him into privacy, pressed upon him with increased and long continued vehemence. The odium which his own imprudence had excited, and which every exertion had been used to acuminate against him, was long kept alive by an apprehension, not perhaps wholly unfounded, of his continuing to enjoy a large share of secret influence after he had abandoned all public responsibility. How far the country was justified in entertaining this suspicion, I shall have occasion to consider shortly hereafter, when the narrative of a few succeeding years shall have opened a longer series of political events to my readers. However, as Lord Bute at this period quits the stage, on which the transactions of the great national drama are represented, I shall take this opportunity of introducing two portraits of that minister drawn by different masters. Neither of them is very flattering, though the features are sufficiently dissimilar. Should we feel disgusted at the strain of senseless invective which distinguishes the former, let us learn at least one useful lesson from the crimes and follies of our forefathers:—that party passions are equally fatal to the best qualities of the heart and understanding; that while they deaden the feelings, they pervert the judgment; and punish those who yield to their ascendancy with an intellectual blindness, that renders them objects, sometimes of pity, sometimes of reprobation, and sometimes of contempt to the circle of unimpassioned spectators. The first portrait of the Earl of Bute is drawn in the following colours. The author, as my readers will observe, takes credit for its accuracy and moderation.

"To draw a character so much beneath the honours of portraiture, would need apology, if the caprice of fortune, in a fit of ill-humour against this nation, had not, by giving to the original a situation for which nature had never designed him, raised him into notice, and made him in the consequences, an object of the public concern. It is only then for the *most candid motive of public utility*, to atone for the ignobleness of the personage whose portrait is here exhibited, *faithfully taken, feature by feature, without any the least caricature*, and too fatally fulfilling the idea of a favourite without merit.

"Constitutionally false, without system, and in the most capital points, greatly, to his own disadvantage, so; being, in fact, neither true to others nor to himself: in-

volved by the necessity of his nature, in that vicious circle of being false because weak, and weak because false.

"Reserved, inward, and darksome; sequestered in some measure from society, taking covert in the shades of embowered life, as the refuge of vanity from the wounds of contempt. Clandestine without concealment—sad without sorrow—domestic without familiarity—haughty without elevation; nothing great, nothing noble having ever marked his character, or illustrated his conduct, public or private. Reducing every thing to his own ideas, that standard of littleness, that mint of falsity. Stubborn without firmness, and ambitious without spirit. A frigid friend, a mean enemy. Nauseously bloated with a stupid, rank, quality, pride, without the air, the ease, the manners, the dignity of a gentleman. Ungenerous without any very extraordinary note of avarice; but rather so, through that poverty of head and heart, from which so many people of fortune hug themselves on what they imagine saved by the omission of some little circumstance that honour, justice, or taste required of them; though by that little so saved, they not only lose the much they will have sacrificed to their various objects of vanity, but where they bespoke admiration, and find no returns for their expense but just censure and derision. And surely in this point of vulgar error, among the low understandings in high life, this poor man was not born to brake herd.

"Bookish without learning; in his library of parade, as insensible and unconversable on the great objects of literature, as one deaf and dumb questioned on a concert of music; as little of a judge as a blind man in a gallery of pictures. A dabbler in the fine arts, without grace, without taste. A traveller through countries without seeing them, and totally unacquainted with his own.

"In a dull ungenial solitude, muddling away what leisure he may have from false politics, and ruinous counsels, in stuffing his port folios with penny prints and pretty pictures of coloured simples, those gazing traps of simpletons, and garnishing his knicknackatory with mechanical toys, baubles, and gimcracks, or varying his nonsense with little tricks of chemistry; while all these futile puerilities have been rendered still more futile by the gloom of a solemn visage ridiculously exhibiting the preternatural character of a grave child. Bagatelles these, which it would doubtless be impertinent, illiberal, and even uncharitable to mention, were it not for the apprehension of his having inspired this most unroyal taste for trifles where it could not exist, but at the expense of a time and attention, of which the nation could not be robbed without capital detriment to it. A circumstance this, that must draw down a ridicule upon his master, not to be easily shaken off, and as much more hurtful to a prince than a calumny of a graver nature, as contempt is ever more fatal to government, than even fear or hatred *."

The other character is drawn with more temper, and, to say the truth, in better English.

"The support of the prince, the acquiescence of the people, the complaisance of parliament, and the baffled efforts of his rival, seemed now to have rivetted and established the Earl of Bute as a permanent minister. A feeble clamour without doors must have soon died away with the hopes of forcing his Lordship from his high department. To the astonishment of the world, to the certain ruin of his character as a politician, he suddenly resigned. The surprise of his enemies prevented them from taking advantage of the consternation among his friends. The former abused him: the latter blamed: both despised his conduct.

* Vide Life of Lord Chatham, vol. 2, p. 66.

"This conduct, however, arose more from the character and disposition of the man, than from any public opposition to his measures, or private circumstances of intimidation. Though born with good parts, and a good heart, he was possessed of qualities which sullied the one, and made the other doubtful in the eyes of the superficial and prejudiced. Surrounded with men whose weakness was known to the world, his judgment of mankind became suspected, and it was difficult to reconcile benevolence of temper, with a pride that rendered him inaccessible. Attached by nature to a retired manner of life, he contracted a shyness of disposition, which ought never to be carried into the highest department of the state. Habit established the companions of the obscure part of his life so firmly in his mind, that he sacrificed his reputation with others, to an appearance of attention to them. They were, however, his companions, but not his counsellors: he loved them for their good nature, his good sense forced him to despise their understandings. Intelligent, penetrating, and shrewd, he studied the theory of government with success; circumstances attending his youth, and a habit of retirement, circumscribed his knowledge in the practice. Mistaking the attention paid to his office and situation for actual attachment to his person, he was deceived by the designing; and he looked upon political desertion as a singular instance of depravity in the age. The noise and clamours of an interested few he took for the voice of the public; and thinking he had deserved well of the nation, he was offended at its ingratitude. He retired with chagrin; and his enemies owed the victory, which they ascribed to their own spirit and conduct, to an adventitious mistake in his mind *."

Lord Bute was succeeded in his state offices by Mr. George Grenville, whose character has been admirably delineated by Mr. Burke in his first speech on the American war. He was a man of sound and vigorous understanding, unwearied industry, and perfect acquaintance with business. He would therefore have been an excellent assistant to any administration, but he was not qualified to take the lead, for his mind was neither enlarged nor elevated. He was not however deficient in political courage, and that quality is among those which are most frequently needed by the minister of a free country.

The discontents which had grown up against the Earl of Bute, did not pass off in domestic murmurs, or seditious toasts and harangues at popular meetings. In this country the evil humours of the nation always find vent in pamphlets, or daily and periodical publications, which quickly circulate the malignant disorder. The press is an universal conductor to all bad passions, and in moments of general disquietude, alarm and calumnies are spread throughout the kingdom with tremendous velocity. A free press is always capable of this perversion, as a powerful engine misapplied may demolish in an instant the labours of half a century. But this is an evil incident to its very nature. "Tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuntia veri." We cannot enjoy its common blessings and advantages, without submitting to the hazard of such temporary calamities. When a pestilence is abroad, the very air becomes noxious. During the period which succeeded the peace of Paris, the press teemed with libellous and inflammatory publications. Of these, the most celebrated was the North Briton, a periodical paper, conducted by John Wilkes, then member for Aylesbury. The singular fortunes of its author, and the criminal proceedings instituted against the work, forced this paper into general notice, and have continued the recollection of

* Vide political conduct of the Earl of Chatham, p. 13.

it to the present day. But it lives only in recollection. As a political or literary composition, its merits are very low. Mr. Burke called it "a milk and water publication, as much inferior to Junius in rancour and venom, as in strength, wit, and judgment;" and Mr. Pitt, in a debate on the question of privilege, which I shall presently mention, "condemned the whole series of North Britons, as illiberal, unmanly, and detestable, and declared that the author did not deserve to be ranked among the human species —was the blasphemer of his God, and the libeller of his King." The invectives contained in this work were principally directed against the Scotch, towards whom Lord Bute had undoubtedly shown a marked partiality *; but in the forty-fifth number, the writer arraigned the speech delivered by his Majesty at the prorogation of parliament, in terms so insolent and offensive, that it was thought fit to issue a warrant from the Secretary of State's Office for his apprehension. The terms of this warrant did not specify the names of the offenders. It was directed *generally* against the authors, printers, and publishers of the treasonable production before mentioned, and such had been the form pursued in similar cases for about eighty years. This form was grounded originally on some clauses contained in the act for regulating the press, passed in the first year of James the Second, and although that act was repealed in 1694, the practice had been continued in every reign, and under every administration (except the four last years of Queen Anne) down to the year 1763 †.

The long duration of a practice, which appears so dangerous to personal liberty, without sensible inconvenience, is a striking proof of the robust strength of the British constitution, and the high state of practical freedom which has been enjoyed in this country since the revolution. These warrants were undoubtedly illegal, and by the latitude of expression in which they were framed, the liberty of every member of the community might be placed at the disposal of the most contemptible agent or runner in a Secretary of State's Office. Yet such were the checks which controlled, and so active the vigilance which inspected those to whom power was intrusted, that an authority thus great, and liable thus easily to perversion, appears to have been exercised for near a century, without having, in a single instance, been abused. Under a warrant of this nature, Wilkes was arrested; but having been brought up before the Court of Common Pleas upon a writ of Habeas Corpus, he was discharged on his privilege as a member of parliament. A prosecution, however, was immediately commenced against the North Briton, by the Attorney General, and a resolution was soon afterwards passed in the House of Commons, declaring the forty-fifth number of that work to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and condemning it to be burned by the common hangman.

But Wilkes, whose object was notoriety, who had neither sense of shame nor dread of punishment, was not to be subdued by these measures, and complained to the house of a breach of privilege in his arrest. The case was very warmly debated for two days, and notwithstanding the vehement opposition of Mr. Pitt, it was at last resolved, "that the privilege of parliament does not extend to the writing and publishing seditious libels." This is one of the few instances in which the House of Common appears to have voluntarily abandoned its own undoubted

* He introduced the precedent of removing every dependent of government, even to the lowest clerks in the public offices, to introduce others of his own nomination.

† Vide Blackstone's Comm. 4 Vols. 154—391.

immunities. The privilege of parliament has always been allowed to extend to every case except treasons, felonies, and breaches of the peace. A libel, at the utmost, only *tends* to a breach of the peace, nor is the subject in such a case bound to find sureties. The courts of law found no difficulty in this question*. Their judgment was unembarrassed by political considerations. The subject however gave occasion to much animated discussion in both houses of parliament. Among the peers, Lord Lyttleton's speech was the most celebrated, and the conclusion is so eloquent, and indeed so profound, that my readers will, I think, be gratified by an extract. "In order to preserve the independence of parliament against any future violations on the part of the crown, it will be necessary to preserve the reputation of parliament in the minds of the people, and the love of it in their hearts. How, my Lords, can this be done, if they find it an obstacle to that equal justice which is their birthright and their safety? Upon the whole, I am confident your Lordships will, on no account, depart from that maxim, which is the corner-stone of all government, that justice should have its course without stop or impediment. *Jus, fas, lex, potentissima sint.* This, my Lords, is the very soul and essence of freedom. Obstruct this, and you immediately open a door to all violence and confusion; to all iniquity and all the cruelties of private revenge; to the destruction of private peace, the dissolution of public order, and in the end to an unlimited and despotic authority, which we must be forced to submit to as a remedy against such intolerable evils. The dominion of law is the dominion of liberty. Privilege against law, in matters of high concernment to the public, is oppression, is tyranny, wheresoever it exists."

The vote of the Commons, directing that the number forty-five of the North Briton should be burnt, was more easily passed than executed.

* The cause was heard before Lord Chief Justice Pratt, and the other Judges of the Court of Common Pleas. It is reported at length in 2 Wilson's Reports, 151. The following was the speech made by Mr. Wilkes to the court, which is amusing for its singular audacity. "My Lord! I am happy to appear before your Lordship and this court, where liberty is so sure of finding protection and support, and where the law (the principal end of which is the preservation of liberty) is so perfectly understood. Liberty! my Lord! hath been the governing principle of every action of my life; and, actuated by it, I always have endeavoured to serve my gracious sovereign and his family, knowing his government to be founded upon it; but as it hath been his misfortune to have employed ministers who have endeavoured to cast the odium and contempt arising from their own terrible and corrupt measures on the sacred person of their sovereign and benefactor, so mine has been the daring task to rescue the royal person from ill-placed imputations, and fix them on the ministers, who alone ought to bear the blame and the punishment due to their unconstitutional proceedings. For the proof of my zeal and affection to my sovereign, I have been imprisoned, sent to the Tower, and treated with a rigour yet unpractised even on SCOTTISH REBELS; but however those may strive to destroy me, whatever persecution they are now meditating against me, yet to the world I shall proclaim, that offers of the most advantageous and lucrative kind have been made to seduce me to their party, and no means untried to win me to their connection: now, as their attempts to corrupt me have failed, they aim at intimidating me by persecution; but as it has pleased God to give me virtue to resist their bribes, so I doubt not but he will give me spirit to surmount their threats in a manner becoming an Englishman, who would suffer the severest trials rather than associate with men who are enemies to the liberty of this country: their bribes I rejected, their menaces I defy, and I think this is the most fortunate event of my life, when I appear before your Lordship and this court, where innocence is sure of protection, and liberty can never want friends and guardians." It deserves to be added, that Mr. Wilkes's assertion of the attempts made to *seduce* him, as he terms it, by bribes, was utterly unfounded.

The populace rose in the city, insulted the magistrate on whom the duty of superintending the ceremony had devolved, rescued a few mangled sheets from the flames, which they carried in triumph to Temple Bar; and with a sort of grotesque humour, which made even their turbulence comical, retaliated the insult offered to their favourite, by committing a huge *jack-boot* * to a bonfire kindled for the purpose.

A warm debate soon afterwards took place in the House of Commons on a motion against general warrants. The ministers endeavoured to shelter themselves under the prevailing practice, and instanced two cases in which Mr. Pitt himself had sanctioned a similar procedure. Mr. Pitt, who was always great, always undaunted, rose and "acknowledged the facts, but declared, that precedents can afford no authority for that which is illegal. That before he issued the last warrant, he consulted the Attorney General, who told him, that if he issued it, he must take the consequences; but that, nevertheless, preferring the general safety in time of war and public danger, to every personal consideration, he run the risk, as he would of his head, had that been the forfeit, and did an extraordinary act against a suspicious foreigner." The motion was however negatived, but the majority for ministers in a very full house amounted only to 14. Mr. Wilkes soon afterwards quitted this country, and judgment having been obtained against him, on the information for a libel, he was outlawed for not appearing to receive sentence.

During the course of these transactions, a slight change had taken place in the constitution of the cabinet. Negotiations, indeed, of a very serious nature, were carried on for the introduction of Mr. Pitt and his friends once more into power. Why it failed is still uncertain. One party complained, that Mr. Pitt's demands were exorbitant; the other, that the mind of the King, who, at the first interview, appeared anxious to effect the proposed arrangement, was afterwards poisoned by the secret influence of Lord Bute. Whatever were the reason, the prospect of accommodation was defeated, and the Duke of Bedford having accepted a seat in the cabinet, was from that period considered as the head of the administration.

Just before the conclusion of this session, which was prorogued in April 1764, a resolution was introduced into the House of Commons, for imposing a stamp duty on America. It was withdrawn for a time, in order that the colonists might have an opportunity of petitioning against it; but as this was the first foundation of a system which ultimately issued in a long and calamitous war, I shall prosecute the narrative no farther at present, but close this paper with a few reflections on the events already related.

The experience of every age, and particularly of the turbulent period which we have surveyed, sufficiently evinces the great inconveniences arising from popular tumults. Even in this country, where they frequently subside without effecting much immediate detriment, the evil consequences are still very serious. Habits of disorder and licentious insolence are generated or strengthened; government loses its reputation, both at home and abroad; much of its power and attention is wasted in devising methods for composing the general effervescence; and such tumults, if frequently recurring, occasion a general feeling of insecurity, which is fatal to prospective industry and domestic happiness. Yet in every state, particularly in every free state, and above all in those where large multitudes are crowded into a metropolis, temporary bursts of popular indignation must be expected. It may be worth while therefore to speculate a little on the best mode of repressing or managing this evil.

* In ridicule of *John* Earl of *Bute*.

In countries, such as, in a qualified degree, lately were most of the kingdoms on the continent of Europe, where the government is nearly absolute, where there is a proud aristocracy, separated by a broad interval from the lower classes of the community, and a large military body, whose habits and education have alienated them from the general mass of the citizens; the people seldom rise in insurrection, except on the occasion of enormous grievances. In such cases, I believe, the only corrective is force. The monarch, or his ministers, aided by the nobility, who circle his throne and share his power, and by the soldiery who are dignified by the authority which they sustain, is generally able, instantly and violently, to repress the threatened disorders. But if force fails, all is lost. A revolution must ensue. The monarch and his dependants can have little hold on the affections or principles of the populace, for the lower classes in such states are, for the most part, uneducated; and the fearful consequences of every unsuccessful effort render men unwilling to engage in tumultous proceedings till deeply exasperated by injury. In such cases, therefore, the paroxysm is violent but short. But in this country it is otherwise. The monarchy is here limited. Our standing army is neither large nor formed to strict military habits by foreign service, and the several ranks of society pass so imperceptibly into each other, that it is difficult to say where the aristocracy commences. In consequence of this, there is a community of feeling throughout every order of the commonwealth. We know our happiness, and we are anxious to preserve it. We all, therefore, love both liberty and order, and are all resolved to preserve both inviolate: the only difference is this, that the highest classes are most anxious to preserve the last, and the populace to vindicate the former. If, therefore, the discontents which misapprehension, or prejudice, or real grievances occasion, should break out in seditious meetings and practices, it can seldom, I believe, be safe, where the number of insurgents is considerable, to attempt their suppression by force. There is no body of citizens sufficiently alienated from the rest, not to feel some union of interests with the offenders; and should the struggle be pressed to an extremity, government would probably find its standard gradually deserted. The surer course, I apprehend, is this; to interfere but little *directly*, or at least only so far as the general security may render indispensable, always however maintaining the appearance of firm and unbending constancy; and gradually to endeavour, by circulating information, by plain facts and good arguments, to win over the mass of the community to the interests of the state. In all common cases, the ferment will thus subside of itself, without any violent interference; or should force at last be necessary, the great body of political citizens, seeing the spirit which directs their governors, will cordially co-operate with them in putting down a nuisance. In the meantime, the inconveniences, though serious, are not fearful. The mobs of a kingdom where a slavish system has been long established, are wild beasts broke loose from their confinement; if they are not shot directly, they will tear their keepers in pieces. The mobs of a free country are tame cattle, ranging rather licentiously beyond their proper pastures. They may demolish a few gates or hedges, and poach their neighbour's fields, but no lives are lost; and whenever the hamlet rises to restrain them, they may generally be led back to their old limits with little disturbance. In free countries, therefore, a tumultuous disposition may frequently last for a considerable period among the populace, and occasionally burst forth into outrages; yet the evils which it produces are not enormous, unless

it be exasperated by injudicious violence. The fever is tedious but mild, and the gentlest remedies are the best. Under despotic governments, the disease is generally violent, and the crisis sudden; it must be instantly subdued, or it proves fatal.

I have discussed this subject with relation only to the two forms of government which lie at the extreme limits of the scale of political institutions. My readers must make the abatements which are obviously necessary, when these principles are applied to existing establishments, such as those which were visible in this country and the other European monarchies. In truth, though in some of the kingdoms of the continent the portion of liberty which was secured by law to the lower classes was very small, yet the share of practical liberty which they enjoyed was far from being contemptible. Absolute power was checked by various causes differing in their kind and in their effects. Still, however, the general principles which I have endeavoured to establish, will, I believe, be found applicable to them all, according to their respective political circumstances.

I shall only add, that the ministers of Great Britain in particular ought at all times to be well acquainted with the whole *philosophy* of mobs (if I may hazard the expression) as well as vigilantly attentive to the caprices, opinions, and prejudices of the passing day.

CRITO.

REVIEW OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Substance of a Speech on the Poor Laws, delivered in the House of Commons, on Thursday, Feb. 19, 1807, *with an Appendix,* by Mr. WHITBREAD. London. Ridgway. 1807. 8vo. pp. 107.

A Letter to Samuel Whitbread, Esq. M. P. on his proposed Bill for the Amendment of the Poor Laws, by the Rev. T. R. MALTHUS, A. M. late fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Author of the Essay on the Principle of Population. London. Johnson. 1807. 8vo. pp. 40.

A short Inquiry into the Policy, Humanity, and past Effects of the Poor Laws, and into the Principles upon which any Measures for their Improvement should be conducted, including Considerations on the Questions of political Economy most intimately connected with the Subject, particularly on the Supply of Food in England, by a JUSTICE OF THE PEACE. London. Hatchard. 1807. 8vo. pp. 332.

ALTHOUGH the science of morals, in its most comprehensive form, includes the elements, both of domestic and of international politics, yet we cannot think the details of legislative provisions, in general, particularly adapted for the notice of a religious work. An exception, however, is to be always made in favour of plans so extensive and important as those which Mr. Whitbread has recently laid before his country; plans directly bearing on the moral interests, and promising to promote both the temporal and future happiness of a very numerous class of society. We allude particularly to his proposal of a scheme of parochial education throughout England. The ardour with which he recommends the adoption of this noble undertaking, will, we trust, be found contagious; and so far as our efforts may assist its diffusion, they shall not be wanting.

Mr. Whitbread looks to the religious and moral education of the

poor as the principal remedy for many evils, which, in his judgment, and in that of not a few other enlightened politicians, the system of compulsory charity, embodied in our poor-laws, has entailed, both on the poor and on the rich. His views of this part of our polity in many respects coincide with those of Mr. Malthus, and we have therefore comprised under this review a letter from that author to Mr. Whitbread, on his proposed bill. We perhaps owe some apology to our readers for never having critically noticed Mr. Malthus's former work, "on the Principles of Population," or at least those parts of it connected with the general objects of the Christian Observer. Some few remarks, which the present article will give us the opportunity of making on them, may partly atone for the omission.

The "Short Inquiry," is now avowed to have been written by John Weyland, Jun. Esq. It is a temperate and a sensible attack on the chief practical conclusions deduced by Mr. Malthus from the principles of population, and a zealous and ingenious defence of the system of poor laws. Of consequence, it is immediately allied to the subjects of our present disquisition. We should have at the same time considered some observations which Mr. Weyland has very recently published on Mr. Whitbread's bill; but we have not as yet found leisure to read them.

There is one very pleasing reflection suggested to us by the perusal of these authors. However their opinions vary on other points, we find them perfectly harmonious with respect to the vast importance of an organized system of national education for the lower classes. Whether the evils admitted to flow from the poor-laws, be inherent in their very principle, or be occasioned by defects in their details, and in the execution of them, still no other decisive cure is held up, but that moral amelioration of the condition of the poorer orders, which every proper feeling, every humane and liberal sentiment, every just deduction from the maxims of religion, and from the soundest views of policy, uniformly conspire to recommend.

The principles of population, as traced out by Mr. Malthus, form a prime object of consideration in disquisitions on the state of the poor. The "Essay" of that gentleman is well known, and justly admired. The ability, the perspicuity, and the variety, which it exhibits, must be acknowledged by those whose assent its doctrines have least succeeded in propitiating; while, on the other hand, there are few who will deny it the higher praise of general accuracy of reasoning and a basis of unquestionable truth. To reflecting minds it has opened a new mine of thought upon subjects the most interesting to mankind. In spite of all this, and though we accede to most of the author's fundamental positions, we should claim our right of resisting several of his deductions from them, and especially of disputing a little the correctness of his notions, where he appears to think himself the least vulnerable, on moral philosophy.

In this place, our readers will scarcely ask for more than a faint and transient allusion to the leading sentiments of Mr. Malthus on the laws that regulate population. Considering the rate of the increase of the human species where it is completely unchecked; considering that in all newly settled countries, where unlimited space and opportunities have been afforded them, the inhabitants have gone on doubling their numbers in successive periods of from fifteen to twenty-five years; considering, as we may add, that, according to all history, sacred and profane, the present swarms of the human race have expanded themselves from but one pair; and considering that there appears to be no original law of nature to prevent a similar expansion from any other single stock whatsoever; it may be con-

cluded, that population, supposing it to proceed under every possible advantage, would grow for ever in a geometrical ratio. If, however, we assume any peopled portion of the earth, or even take the whole globe, it is not conceivable that the prolific powers of the soil, and consequently its produce, could possibly be improved or augmented according to the same progressive, unlimited, and perpetually diverging law of increase. There is a point at which its produce, under the most advantageous circumstances, would be a maximum; there is no point at which the people upon it, however numerous, might not, under advantageous circumstances, go on increasing without number. Besides, while the soil is still capable of increasing its produce, yet, if it be approaching somewhere near the limit of its capacity, the increase of its produce cannot possibly keep pace with the natural, or rather, the possible increase of the population upon it. And this may happen, even admitting it to be yet far from that limit, provided we suppose, (which seems to be always the case in long-settled countries) that the appropriation of property to a comparatively small number of persons, and the deep root which the habits of the whole community, and especially which particular modes of cultivation, may have taken, prevent any rapid developement of the yet dormant powers which the country may possess of sustaining a greater number of inhabitants. There is, therefore, in all long settled countries, a perpetual tendency in the population to excess. The operation of this tendency is counteracted, in the first place, not perhaps by the actual starving of a part of the people, but yet by the stinted diet allotted to the poor, by the necessity under which they lie of putting up with unwholesome provisions, and with narrow, unhealthy lodgings, and by the general abridgment which they suffer of those comforts that exhilarate labour, relieve sickness, and prolong life. It is further counteracted by the waste of war or the prevalence of vices unfriendly to the increase of the community. Lastly, it is in part counteracted by a prudential abstinence from marriage, on the part of those who find that others cannot support a family.

In a newly settled country, land is of easy acquisition; every man may marry as soon as he pleases.

> The world is all before him, where to choose
> His place of rest, and Providence his guide.

He may turn his children loose upon the world as soon as they can handle an axe or a spade. In long settled countries, the difficulties of living are multiplied, the wages of labour lowered, and the avenues of employment contracted; and consequently a prudent and conscientious member of a society so circumstanced, is frequently compelled to defer to a later period his prospects of a family-life; while the rash youth who enters into the married state without any rational expectation of being able to rear his offspring, bequeaths to them a life of poverty, adventure, or dependence, with the too faithful followers of such a life, broken spirits, disease, premature age, or untimely death.

Far from us, however, be the worst consequence which can ensue from these difficulties; a disposition to murmur against that providence which, designing this world not for our resting-place, but for our field of probation, has been pleased to mix the rich cup of civilized life with these drops of bitterness. The advantages which countries like England enjoy, in all the luxuries, moral and intellectual, of social life, over wilds just laid open by the hatchets and the fires of cultivation, infinitely more than compensate for the inconvenience of a population ever filling up to redundance. And is it much that the decisive superiority of such countries should be

dashed with just so much imperfection, as may serve to teach us that we are not of this world, and that the fairest fabric of society which can be "built with hands," is but a rude and miserable type of that "city, whose builder and maker is God?"

It is a vulgar misconception to suppose, that the evils of a redundant population can never be felt by a country till it is actually peopled up to the full capacity of its resources. We have already remarked the contrary; and those who still indulge this imagination, we would refer to Mr. Malthus's chapter *on the prevailing errors respecting population and plenty*, and they will be satisfied that the monopoly of property, the difficulty and expense of bringing new lands into cultivation, general habits of indolence, misdirected habits of industry, ignorance of the arts of cultivation, and various other causes, some affecting savage life, and some civilized society, may effectually occasion a redundant population, where the productive powers of a country are by no means wound up to the uttermost. The pressure of the evil is not necessarily its own remedy.

Another not uncommon, but a still grosser, error is to mistake the multiplication of births in a country for the increase of its population. It is evident, however, that if, by premiums on population, we increase the total number of births in a given period by one third, while at the same time, by rendering subsistence more precarious and difficult, we reduce the average length of life by one third, the solid quantum of population is not augmented by even the shadow of a man. The case is still worse, if, by introducing habits of idleness, dependence, and libertinism, we subtract from the length of life still more than we add to the numbers born. There is no paradox in saying, that here our bounties on population tend to depopulate; for it is possible to kill population, as well as commerce, with kindness.

From all the premises above laid down, it seems to follow, that it is a most mistaken policy in a legislature to encourage population in any other way than by augmenting the national resources of sustenance. This is to begin at the wrong end. Yet such, says Mr. Malthus, is the policy of the poor laws. They operate as a direct premium upon the marriage of the labouring classes, by holding out to them the prospect of relief, in the event of their being unable to support their families; but, as they do not augment the means of the country to sustain its inhabitants, their ultimate tendency must be to bring into the world a redundant population, and therefore to reduce the individual comforts of the poor. Even supposing, however, that they are by any means prevented from producing this mischief, still they tend to encourage improvidence and wastefulness among the labouring classes, to abate their love of independence, and thus materially to depress their condition. These latter consequences the author directly charges the poor-laws with having produced in England; although from various causes, particularly (as it should seem) from the difficulty, which has here prevailed, of procuring cottages, they have not very sensibly increased the number of births.

Whatever may be thought of the items of Mr. Malthus's statement, his great principle, that a redundant population ought not to be encouraged, is surely in itself irresistible. Yet that principle has found in Mr. Weyland an adversary of no mean prowess. We cannot, within reasonable limits, do full justice to the arguments which this gentleman has employed in the contest; but we will endeavour to epitomize them fairly. The state of society in England Mr. Weyland represents as one "not only requiring, more emphatically than others, a

perfect freedom of increase for its population up to the full extent of the demand for labour, without reference to the actual growth of food; but *which may, likewise, find an advantage in having a still farther supply of men, always at hand for any purpose that may occur, beyond what the actual demand would have a natural tendency to create.*" There are reasons for which we could not, with perfect readiness, adopt the former part of this statement; but it is the latter that directly contradicts the conclusion suggested by Mr. Malthus against a redundant population. Mr. Weyland thinks it of great importance, that a great and *growing* country should always have a *redundant*, or (if we may recommend what seems a better word) a *disposeable* population, to spread themselves over such new fields of employment, whether warlike or pacific, as the improving fortunes of such a country must be perpetually laying open to its industry. To encourage population, the wages of labour, or, which is consequently the same thing, the entire income, however derived, of the labourer, should be high. To encourage, on the other hand, the enterprises of the capitalist, the wages of labour should be low. The poor-laws, in Mr. Weyland's opinion, combine these two advantages. They evidently encourage population; and on the other side, though they are, in a good measure, derived from those very funds out of which labour is paid, yet they also encourage the adventurous capitalist, by preventing the expense of his new undertakings from falling exclusively on himself, which it would do, if the receipts of the poor, instead of being paid in the joint shape of wages and rates, were paid only as wages.

But in framing this reasoning, (of which we acknowledge the plausibility), the author seems to have overlooked the meaning of the term "a *redundant* population." He forgets that we are to understand by it a population greater, by the whole amount of the redundancy, than the state can comfortably feed. In the perpetually refreshed hope and prospect of new calls for labour, the state, it seems, is to keep perpetually upon hand a disposeable stock of labourers. By the supposition, therefore, these labourers are to be procured before they are wanted; and the question is, how they are to be supported during this interval? Clearly, on a part of those funds which would suffice for the maintenance of the number of hands actually required. Where the resources of the country can employ and feed only fifteen men, there twenty are to be crowded together, in the contemplation that the resources of the country will soon be able to employ and feed twenty. It is easy to perceive, that great intermediate misery must be the result, and that such a policy, supposing it to be commercially advantageous, only does evil that good may come.

But surely this policy never can answer, even commercially. Since men can as little live upon hope as upon air, it stands to reason that the effective quantity of the labouring strength of a country can never be augmented beyond the quantum of the actually existing means of sustenance. To encourage population beyond this point, is only to multiply the number of births; bad living, confined lodging, and the misery and diseases consequent upon both, will be constantly reducing, partly in the length of life, and partly in individual vigour, what is thus gained in the number of livers. To talk, then, of "a *redundant healthy* population," is to enunciate a flat contradiction in terms. That a redundant, that is, a half-starved and suffering people would be sufficiently disposed to any new employment; and that therefore a projector, whether commercial, agricultural, or warlike, might successfully look to them for recruits, may be allowed. After all,

however, the numbers thus acquired, and acquired at so great cost, could not be very considerable, because, as we have observed, the existing population cannot, in the case supposed, increase in the same ratio as the number of births; and it remains to be inquired, whether the habits of idleness, and perhaps dissoluteness, which these recruits must be supposed to have formed amidst the inconveniences they have been experiencing, would not be such as fully to counterbalance the accession of strength which our ranks, military or civil, could derive from the limited influx of unhealthiness and beggary.

A country like ours, the expansive force of whose resources is regularly laying open fresh channels of employment, needs not, we may depend upon it, an artificial supply of labour to fill those channels. The general circumstances of such a country constitute a sufficient, as they constitute a legitimate, premium upon marriage. It is not that men can be reared rapidly enough to meet a particular demand, after it has occurred, but that the confidence and hope diffused throughout all classes of the community, produce a perpetual tendency to a surplus population, and that the excess is continually absorbed by the continual recurrence of demand. This is as it should be; the supply of men, instead of outrunning the demand, always follows close upon its steps. With respect to a sudden or unusual extension of the field of employment, an extension which the general circumstances of the nation do not warrant us to expect, this case is clearly out of the question on both sides of the argument.

If it can be seriously maintained, that the occasional derangement which the whole frame of the community sustains, on the breaking out of a war, is a less tolerable evil than the heavy charge of providing a forced population, as the basis of our war-establishment, let us directly strike the balance between the two inconveniences. Let us keep up at all times a standing-army of the requisite magnitude, unarmed, indeed, if for prudential and constitutional reasons, that should be thought advisable: the loss thus incurred would at least be limited, would be known, would be commensurate with the probable severity of the exigency.

We allow the solidity of the ingenious argument in the "Short Inquiry," which gives the poor-laws credit for combining the twofold effects of high and low wages; but it is an argument directly against those laws. That a rational projector should be enabled to divide the hazard of his undertakings with the rest of the commercial world, is perhaps desirable; but we may securely trust the commercial world with the task of finding expedients (and it has already discovered many) for such a distribution of risk and expense. It is a very different proposition to assert, that government should, by means of taxes, give a bounty indiscriminately on all speculation, and a proposition, on many grounds, not to be conceded without an obstinate struggle, even if it were possible for any government to proportion the bounties, afforded for this purpose, to the actual demand for speculation and adventure in the society at large. But the peculiar mischief of the system of poor-laws is, that its operation, in holding out encouragement for the supply of labourers, is not only not co ordinate with the demand for labour, but is almost inversely proportional to that demand. When wages are low, that is, when the candidates for labour are sufficiently numerous, then is this system particularly effective in forcing an addition to the labouring population, and consequently depressing wages still lower; again, this farther depression of wages only serves to lay fresh ground for the inauspicious exertions of the system; and thus the evil for ever propagates itself. Worse than this; the indulgence,

being appropriated, not to labourers as such, but to labourers with families, acts more strongly in forcing population than if it were a simple increase of wages, and augments the amount of consumption more surely than that of labour. We are surprised that our author, who fully acquiesces in the general principles of population, and admits the tendency of a premium on population to lower wages, should yet deny that the *indefinite* extension, at least, of a system of premiums must at length increase the number of births far beyond the general funds of sustenance. Whether the English poor-laws have been effective in this manner, is not altogether the question. It must, we fear, be admitted that this is the necessary tendency of the *beau idéel* of the system; and the same inherent vices which, if unrestrained, would have rendered our own parochial charities thus mischievous, seem to have made them actually detrimental in a less degree.

Having avowed a coincidence of sentiment with Mr. Malthus on the leading features of the poor-laws, we are tempted to say a few words on the moral tendency of that gentleman's celebrated essay. On this subject Mr. Whitbread thus delivers himself.

> "Although I believe the design and intention of the author to be most benevolent, and that so much is to be collected from his writings, I think any man who reads them, ought to place a strict guard over his heart, lest it become hardened against the distresses of his fellow creatures; lest in learning that misery and vice must of necessity maintain a footing in the world, he give up all attempt at their subjugation." (p. 10.)

It will be observed, that, in thus lamenting the hardening tendency of Mr. Malthus's *book*, Mr. Whitbread has added a saving clause to acquit the author himself from all suspicion of hardness of *heart*. Notwithstanding this qualification, the passage appears to have been felt keenly by Mr. Malthus, who has expressed his sensibility on the occasion in his printed letter subsequently addressed to Mr. Whitbread. To us it appears that no careful and intelligent reader of Mr. Malthus's book can doubt the genuine and active philanthropy of the writer; but it does not inevitably follow that the charge on his book is false, and for this reason we shall presume briefly to discuss the topic.

If it be true that the system alluded to makes "*vice and misery necessary*" in the creation of God, its tendency must be to produce a still worse effect than hardness of heart. There is danger lest a mind saturated with so dreadful a sentiment, should ultimately be impassive alike to the influence of religion and to the warmth of charity. But it is no inconsiderable error to accuse Mr. Malthus of asserting in any case the necessity of vice as a check to population; though, that population has been a good deal checked by vice, all will acknowledge. Of misery, all that Mr. Malthus holds to be "necessary," is that kind and degree of it which would result from the practical adoption of a very trite maxim: we mean, that no man should marry till he has a fair prospect of supporting a family. The most which can be plausibly said on the other side, is, that in long-peopled countries the funds of sustenance being, according to Mr. Malthus, much contracted, there is a greater demand for celibacy than before, and consequently the temptations to some particular vices are multiplied. But this amounts only to the position, that at some particular periods in the progress of society, men are more strongly tempted in a particular manner than at others. The right of our Maker to try us in any mode which may be agreeable to his infinite wisdom and goodness, who will dispute? It only becomes the more incumbent on us to keep our hearts with all diligence. Doubtless we are told in Scripture, that he who marries

sinneth not; but he must be ill read in the sacred oracles, who would, in any state of society, understand their declarations on this subject as an unqualified licence to marriages however inconsiderate or imprudent.

The Essay on Population also labours under the imputation of smothering the warmth of individual charity. It must be owned, that according to that Essay, some of the most popular of our charitable institutions have been injurious to society. Let us, however, recollect, in the first place, that the author is most earnest in recommending active *voluntary* charity*; imposing on it only this necessary condition, that much nicety should be employed in the selection of proper objects. Next it is to be observed, that even of our public charities none is to be abolished instantly. The sums bestowed in this manner throughout England doubtless bear a very sensible proportion to the amount of the poor's-rates, and the sudden stoppage of much relief, like the sudden extinction of the rates, would be the height of inhumanity. Mr. Malthus has justly remarked, that a plan of charity, however injudiciously laid, seldom fails to be beneficial in the early years of its institution. Reversing his reasoning, it will be found equally true, that the sudden abolition of the most injudicious charitable institution could not fail to produce much misery, by the revulsion of that regular demand for relief which it had in the course of time created. Farther, it should be noticed, that there are many public charities which Mr. Malthus's plan would not touch, because, without operating as a premium on population, they relieve distress. Such, for example, are hospitals. Lastly, every view of the principles of population leads us to note the vast importance of one class of charitable institutions, which hitherto have been too much neglected, and which, in the eyes of philanthropy and religion, alone cover space enough to afford room for the most spirited and strenuous efforts of individual and national benevolence. Doubtless we shall have been anticipated when we name *seminaries for the education of the poor*.

On the whole, then, we cannot attribute to the principles of population, when properly understood, any of that deadening and hardening tendency, of which complaint has been often made. There remains, however, another inquiry, whether the manner at least, though not the matter, of the work in question, may not have justly incurred some part of this reproach? And here, with the sincerest respect for the evident benevolence of the author, we do yet doubt whether he has not, unfortunately, and from causes totally unconnected with the slightest want of feeling, given his system, as it appears in his pages, a cast of rigidness very different from the complexion of the archetype residing in his own breast. We doubt indeed, in the first place, whether he has not pushed some of his practical conclusions too far. The case of Scotland proves that compulsory charity may exist by law without encouraging a redundant population, or acting as a bounty on idleness and dependence; and should Mr. Whitbread's noble project of parochial instruction be realised, we see not why many charitable institutions, which are theoretically mischievous, may not stand undisturbed and harmless, as a refuge in extreme cases.

But the chief circumstance that communicates, as we cannot but think, to the work of Mr. Malthus, an air of stiffness and chilliness, is his unqualified adoption of that system of morals which is commonly called the philosophy of expediency; or rather, perhaps, his perpetual appeal to it. It is painful to be informed at every turn, that all those sentiments of the heart, which,

* Book iv. ch. 9.

however they originate, enthrone virtue above all the littlenesses of place and time, and almost confer upon her a necessary existence similar to that of her great Author, are baseless illusions. The theory in morals, according to which, *whatever is expedient is right*, seems a pretty exact counterpart of that which, in matters of taste, founds beauty on utility; and they appear likely to stand or fall together. In pursuits of taste, however, it would be found peculiarly harassing to be incessantly reminded that nothing was beautiful, of which the utility was not apparent; and, in the same manner, a frequent recurrence to the parallel doctrine in morals seems to despoil the whole science of its richness and grandeur. But Mr. Hall has, in his fast Sermon, discussed this point in so masterly a manner, that nothing remains to be said upon it.

If the champions of expediency should answer that their philosophy is founded in truth, and that the knowledge of truth can never be detrimental, we should almost dispute the title of these philosophers to urge such a plea. They themselves admit, in human conduct, the regulated agency of the passions, on the principle that a calculation of consequences would be too slow for the rapidity of action; the passions consequently are blind for the moment to truth, and if the expediency of sometimes forgetting truth be allowed, the expediency of always reminding men of it may be questioned. For our own parts, we certainly disallow the philosophy of expediency, though we are aware that the niceties of the question can hardly be hit by a simple negative or affirmative. It was our intention, however, to have considered this subject at length in this place, and to have urged some distinctions connected with it, to which due attention has not been paid. This our limits, happily for our readers, forbid; and leaving therefore every thing else untouched, we will subjoin only one of the arguments that we had prepared, because it will not suffer by being disjoined from the rest, and because it peculiarly falls within our province.

All Scripture is given "for instruction," not for speculation, and is profitable for the regulation, not of our metaphysical notions, but of our practice. Yet were the doctrines of expediency as sound and as important as their abettors pretend, we cannot help thinking that they would have been in some measure deducible by reflecting men from the sacred oracles. But this is surely not the case. The most ardent of the philosophical philanthropists could not have insisted more strongly on the duty of doing good than the penmen of the New Testament. Those inspired writers not only represent the law of love as of the highest obligation, but make charity the only decisive test of faith. Yet we have not discovered in their pages, a single intimation that utility is the *primum mobile* of all virtue. We are commanded by them to "love our neighbours as ourselves;" but it is not added, that the sole value of the first and great commandment consists in its subserviency to the second. We are required to "walk in love," but this admonition is only an appendage to another, "be ye followers of God as dear children" We are pronounced, as Christians, to be "members one of another," only because "we, being many, are one body in Christ." The beloved Apostle professes it to be the object of his writing, that his Christian brethren should have mutual "fellowship;" but what is this fellowship? "Truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." "He that loveth not his brother," says the same unrivalled philanthropist, "whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" The disciple of expediency would rather have converted the process of reasoning; "Love God, for he that

loves not God, how can he love his brethren?"

But whatever may be thought of the principle of the philosophers in question, their ordinary application of it is totally unjustifiable. When they talk of doing good, the *earthly*, the *temporal*, and generally (by a little decomposition) the mere *physical* good of mankind is all that is intended. Whatever therefore be their opinion of the future destinies of man; in their scheme of morality, he is exhibited almost exclusively as a *mortal* creature. That the disbelief of a future state naturally tends to crush the seeds of humanity in the mind, has been shewn by Mr. Hall * with equal power of reasoning and of eloquence; but the same effects must in part result from any system of philosophy, which hides, with whatever purpose, all the immortal part of our nature from view, and shews us the "worm" without the "God." This consequence of the theory of utility is so certain, that we in a measure feel its operation while perusing the valuable writings of Dr. Paley and Mr. Malthus, although those authors entertain a firm belief of the truth of Christianity. Their benevolence seems perpetually to be narrowing itself down to the physical comforts of their fellow-creatures, and therefore we soon insensibly lower our estimate of the importance of a being whom we are never permitted to contemplate but in the company of sublunary images. Virtues and vices, laws and opinions, are measured only by their respective influences on the physical good of society. We reprobate licentiousness, because it poisons the springs of domestic happiness, weakens the force of the domestic charities, and produces distress and misery; rather than because "for these things' sake cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience." We recommend a system of national education, not that the poor may the more easily know the things which belong to their peace, but that they may become acquainted with the principles of population. We censure more strongly the illicit indulgences of the one sex than of the other, because they more obviously tend to produce a redundant population, and therefore to increase the sum of temporal misery. We condemn the practice of infanticide, not so much because, in defiance of a divine commandment, it abridges the probationary term of our immortal existence, as because it impairs the moral sensibility of the community in general. Alas! who would conceive that the subject of all this discussion and these provisions, was a creature who shall exist millions of ages after the heavens and the earth, that constitute his present habitation, shall "flee away, and no place be found for them;"—that his name was "graven on the palms" of him with whom a thousand years are as yesterday and as a watch of the night;—that he was invited to become an "heir of God and joint-heir with Christ;" —that he was destined to stand before the judgment-seat of his Maker, and to receive according to the things done in the body;—that all the little pleasures or inconveniences which chequer his present momentary life, were one day to be awfully forgotten, either in the extremity of anguish or in the "fulness of joy;"—that his hopes, his fears, his longings, his regrets, all his feelings, and all his passions, partook of the mysterious immensity of his nature, and could never find an adequate theatre for their exertion in the almost viewless atom to which he is chained? Thus it is, that we teach a child of immortality to confine his entire attention to threescore and ten years of comparative labour and sorrow! Thus it is, that we set the master of a hundred millions of rational creatures, to play with a fly!

Far be it from us to assert, that the writings of Mr. Malthus make

* Sermon on Infidelity.

no reference whatever to the truths of Christianity. But the references to them are by no means full, frequent, or pointed; while the doctrines of utility, such as we have described them, are more or less directly recognised in almost every page. For this ill-placed partiality it would be a very unsatisfactory plea to say that, in reasoning with worldly men, it is necessary to reason from worldly principles. To an argument *ex concessis* there can be no objection; but, in an important moral disquisition, are we to concede almost every thing, by way of triumphantly fighting the battles of the *totum nil* that remains?

But what, it may be asked, has an Essay on Population, to do with theology? The objections, we answer, that have just been urged against Mr. Malthus's work, are directed against it, not as an Essay on Population, but as a disquisition on some important branches of morals. Indeed the author himself, we are persuaded, would not rest any justification of those parts of his book to which we have taken exceptions, on the ground of his having nothing to do with the higher duties of mankind, and the sanctions under which they become obligatory. Mr. Malthus might have written a mere Essay on Population, considered as a part of political economy; but he has voluntarily combined this subject with topics strictly *moral*. This proceeding we highly applaud, and only differ with him, not because he is a moralist, but because his moral sentiments are not altogether agreeable to us.

We now return to the poor-laws. If they are on the whole evil, the question is, in what way are they to be amended or abolished? More plans than one have been proposed, and the following extract may give us some notion of Mr. Whitbread's views respecting that of Mr. Malthus.

"'He proposes a regulation to be made, declaring that no child born from any marriage taking place after the expiration of a year from the date of the law; and no illegitimate child born two years from the same date, should *ever* be entitled to parish assistance *.'

"It is unnecessary to state the details wherein he gives an account of the method whereby he would have such a law promulgated. By this measure the poor-laws would absolutely cease, after the expiration of a short period, as to the rising generation. But putting all other considerations aside, what a scene of confusion would ensue during the interval which must elapse, till the present generation should have all passed away, and the condition of all your people should have become the same. Divided as they would be into two distinct classes, the one possessing a claim upon you, the other none; what end would there be to their discontent, jealousies, and quarrel! What jarring, wrangling, and conflict! What difficulties of proof and discrimination in the first instance, and what harshness and severity in the second after proof shall have been obtained!" (p. 15, 16.)

Considering the deep roots which the system of compulsory relief has cast into every part of our domestic polity, we may condemn at once, and without any particular investigation, every project of removing it within the compass of a single generation. Mr. Malthus, however, in his letter, seems to deny that this is a fair account of his plan for the abolition of the poor-laws, and thus explains himself on the subject.

"But though I think that the difficulties attending this state of things (i. e. a state of things where there should be no compulsory charity) would be more than compensated by its advantages, yet after a compulsory provision for the poor had been so long established in this country, I am aware that these difficulties would be so strongly felt, and indeed I feel them so strongly myself, that I should be very sorry to see any legislative regulation founded on the plan I have proposed, till the higher and middle classes of society were generally convinced of its necessity, and till the poor themselves could be made to understand that they had purchased their right to a provision by law, by too great and extensive a sacrifice of their liberty and happiness." (p. 6, 7.)

* Malthus, vol. ii. p. 396.

It is sufficiently discernible, that in this view of the matter, the plans of Mr. Malthus and Mr. Whitbread almost coincide. The former is for making the poor-laws gradually obsolete, in order to facilitate the abolition of them; the latter proposes to supersede the necessity of abolishing them by making them nearly obsolete. We own that the latter seems to us the more eligible mode. But Mr. Whitbread has a right to be heard farther on this head, and we shall make no scruple of extracting from his speech a long, and, as it strikes us, an excellent passage.

"The principles on which I would proceed, to effect this most desirable object, are these: to exalt the character of the labouring classes of your community: to give the labourer consequence in his own eyes, and in those of his fellows; to make him a fit companion for himself, and fit to associate with civilized men; to excite him to acquire property that he may taste its sweets, and to give him inviolable security for that property, when it is acquired; to mitigate those restraints which now confine and cramp his sphere of action; to hold out a hope of reward to his patient industry; to render dependent poverty, in all cases, degradation in his eyes, and at all times less desirable than independent industry.

"Having accomplished this first grand object, I would endeavour to lighten the burthens which must inevitably be borne, by making their distribution more equal. I would propose some material alterations in the mode of affording relief; to put some of your present institutions on a more orderly footing, and to enable you to distinguish between your criminal and innocently necessitous poor. In pursuing these objects, it has been my wish, and I hope I have succeeded, to steer clear of all new sources of litigation; not to disturb any of those decisions of the courts of justice which have formed the guide for the conduct of magistrates, and those intrusted to their care; and not, in the smallest degree, to alter or vary the ancient boundaries and divisions of the kingdom. I should further add, that I do not intend to regulate for any of those places whose concerns are provided for by special acts of parliament.

"Sir, there is another principle upon which I wish to proceed, and in which I hope I shall obtain the universal concurrence of this house, I mean that of non-interference with the concerns of the poor, until necessity calls for it. Sir, I hold that I have no more right to meddle with the private concerns of the labourer, to tell him how he shall be lodged, or fed, or clothed, than he has to interfere with mine, until he applies to me for relief. Then the right begins, and again it terminates when he is again able to provide for himself. I am as sure of the sound policy of the doctrine of leaving the poor to their own management, as I am sure of the right they have to be so left: and notwithstanding the instances of unthriftiness and dissolute selfishness which we witness in some characters, generally speaking, they manage for themselves much better than we could manage for them.

"Sir, I think the house must anticipate, that in the front of my plan for the exaltation of the character of the labourer, must appear a scheme for general national education. So it is: and upon its effects I mainly rely for the consummation of my wishes. Sir, it would be needless in speaking before an assembly so enlightened as that which I have now the honour to address, to dwell upon the beneficial effects of the general diffusion of knowledge. I have of late heard it magnificently said from the chair in which you preside, that this house would at all times open its doors wide to receive the petitions of the people. Sir, I would borrow that expression, and bid you throw open wide the portals of the human understanding to the introduction of light and knowledge, in order that virtue and happiness might follow in their train. If there could exist a doubt about it in the mind of any man who hears me, I would refer him to the contemplation of the character of savage, uncivilized man—more helpless than the brutes amongst which he obtains a precarious subsistence, but more dangerous than them to his fellow creatures, because under the influence of malignant passions by which they are not excited or tormented. Look into the pages of that writer whom I have so often quoted, see, and shudder at the description of a totally uncivilized human being in every quarter of the world, from the northern to the southern extremity of the globe. Trace man from that rude state, step by step, till he arrives at the highest polish of refinement in a civilized society, such as that in which we have the good fortune to live, and I think you will be compelled to

confess that every step towards civilization, notwithstanding the adventitious vices which undoubtedly attend its progress, is a step towards morality and order.

"Sir, in a political point of view, nothing can possibly afford greater stability to a popular government than the education of your people. Contemplate ignorance in the hand of craft; what a desperate weapon does it afford! How impotent does craft become before an instructed and enlightened multitude. Sir, view the injustice and cruelty of ignorance: the violence and horrors of a deluded and infuriate mob, destroying its victims without selection or remorse, itself ultimately the victim of its own infatuation and guilt.

"I would fain illustrate to you what I feel, by calling your attention to a story of remote antiquity; and I would ask, whether the great Aristides could have suffered the injustice he met with from the Athenian people, had the ungrateful crowd, whom he had so faithfully served, been sufficiently instructed to appreciate those services? Could any but a wretch as ignorant as the one who asked him to engrave his own name on the shell which was to condemn him to banishment, have been weary of hearing him called 'the Just?' Sir, to come nearer to our own times, could the great pensioner De Witt and his unhappy brother have met with their cruel and ignominious death from the hands of an enlightened populace? To bring it immediately home, could the disgraceful scenes of 1780 have taken place in this metropolis, had there prevailed amongst you a general system of national education? Sir, I think none of these things could have happened, where the light of knowledge and of truth had universally beamed. Sir, I have contended for parliamentary reform in this house, and I am still a sincere and decided friend to the reformation of parliament: but I do not believe that any scheme could be devised, so totally unobjectionable in its means, and so entirely efficacious to its object of increasing the purity of this house, as the general instruction of your people. Nothing could so tend to diffuse the principles and practice of Christianity. You translate the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, that all may have an opportunity of knowing, weighing, and following the divine precepts they contain. Open the eyes of your people, that they may read what you have so written, and your work is done." (p. 21—27.)

Little could be added by the ingenuity of invention to the general reasoning here followed out, and little could be taken from it by the most scrupulous objector. The speaker proceeds to illustrate and to fortify his positions relative to the education of the lower classes, by quoting the remarkable case of Scotland. About the end of the seventeenth century, that country, though possessed of a system of poor-laws, abounded in mendicity, misery, disorders, and crimes, to a degree almost incredible. This appears from Fletcher of Saltoun, who wrote in 1698, and who, after deploring the shocking state of the Scotch peasantry, pronounces "the better education of their youth" to be very necessary. We need hardly add, that Scotland is at this time proverbial for the sobriety, industry, morality, and intelligence of her poorer classes. This change Mr. Whitbread ascribes, and as we doubt not justly, to the system of national education established by the Scotch legislature, just about the time when Mr. Fletcher wrote, although of course its beneficial influence would hardly tell for many years after that period.

However strongly we might have expected an opposition to Mr. Whitbread's plan of national education, it would have hardly seemed probable that the very principle of that plan should have been impugned as grossly absurd. Yet such an attack has been made upon it, and if report is to be credited, from a quarter of no contemptible authority. So far as the arguments, that have been employed in the contest, are mere revivals of the old musty prejudices on this subject, they may be left to die a natural death in peace. For can it be now necessary to prove, that it is the ignorance and not the knowledge of the lower orders, which makes them liable to be duped by the persuasions of designing demagogues? Can it be necessary to deny that there is a natural alliance between

knowledge and vice? Much more, can it be necessary by an elaborate process of reasoning to shew, that *a moral and religious education* has no tendency to make men more wicked or more foolish, or that a child who is trained up in the way wherein he should go, is less likely to err than those that are left to be trained by chance?

But philosophy may bear arms in the same cause with bigotry. Against the principle of a legislative provision for parochial instruction, we have heard certain philosophical arguments preferred, which are much too curious not to be noticed, although of so refined a stamp, that, in sketching them, we are fearful of greatly failing to do them justice. Their amount, if we comprehend them, is this; that whenever, and in whatever degree, knowledge is useful to a community, then, and in that degree, we may depend upon the natural developement of the energies of that community for producing it; that a government which interferes by a compulsory law to *force* the supply of knowledge, only does harm, since, whatever may be the effect of such a proceeding upon individuals, the bulk of the community can derive no benefit from a forced, that is, a premature supply of knowledge; that to communicate learning imperatively to a whole people, is strangely and injudiciously to interfere with the free process of that *division of employment* which takes place and gradually advances to perfection in every organized society, and according to which it is as expedient to the whole body, that one man should think and another should work, that one should bind books and another should read them, that one should read them, and another should take their contents on trust, as it is that one man should make clothes, and another should wear them. Governments, in short, must cease to be officious in meddling with private concerns; they must reverse the preposterous maxim of Aristippus, *sibi res, non se rebus subjungere*; they must leave supply to be regulated by demand, and the growth of literature by the call for it.

The query is, whether all this reasoning does not prove infinitely too much. That the pragmatical officiousness of legislatures in meddling with individual concerns, has done considerable mischief, is notorious. We ourselves have expressed our doubts whether the poor-laws do not afford an instance of this well-meant but ill-judged solicitude. But is it therefore self-evident, that whatever would benefit a people will be supplied by the unassisted operation of their own energies, that every thing is to create itself, and that the services of the government are to be entirely negative? "Every blessing (it is pretended) will come as soon as it is wanted, and to *force* the production of it is to do harm." Since then one of the objects for which men have associated together is *comfort*, we must leave the supply of this article to be regulated by the demand for it; and consequently, all legislative enactments for paving and lighting streets, making and repairing roads, instituting mail coaches, and so forth, are impolitic. With the supply of literature, we have already heard that the state ought not to interfere; it follows, that the whole fabric of collegiate and scholastic endowments, even in the freest forms, is to be overthrown as being only a stupendous monument of legislative folly. Religious establishments, on whatever principles constructed, must follow next; for can any thing be more useful to a society than religion and morality? And why then can we not trust to society for the unforced production of commodities which it so imperiously requires? But the demand for justice, for safety of life and limb, for domestic quiet, for security of property, is equally strong, equally certain, and closely connected or identified, with the demand for religion and virtue;

what then are all our compulsory laws, civil and penal, but a system of *bounties, duties,* and sometimes (as in the case of a sturdy felon, spared on condition of serving in his Majesty's navy) *drawbacks,* intended to force the supply of that with which the market will always be as well stocked, as the general necessities of the community require? These therefore must also be swept away; and with them too all state-devices for national security, since national security is an acknowledged benefit, and men, if left to themselves, will take good care to procure it. When all these reforms shall have been achieved, we may the less object to the abolition of government itself, as an immense sinecure, and an intolerable tax upon what we shall, by courtesy, still call the *nation.* Thus, by a close and intrepid adherence to our philosophical principles, have we step by step arrived at that state of complete and rayless barbarism, which surely never existed but in the imaginations of philosophers, and which nothing probably but the projects of philosophers could actually realize; at that state of commercial freedom, when all men demanded for themselves whatever they pleased, and supplied themselves with whatever they could take.

> "Nec commune bonum poterant spectare, nec ullis
> Moribus inter se scibant, nec legibus uti.

Should it be said that it never was intended to push the principles of commercial liberty and the non-interference of the legislature to such incontinent lengths, the argument is precisely at the point to which we would reduce it. It then becomes the duty of our rulers to judge whether the present be not a proper case for their interference, and diligently to weigh all those weighty arguments in favour of the scheme of parochial education, which instead of being answered, have been merely silenced by a preliminary objection to the jurisdiction of the court. It then becomes them to reflect, that it is the very nature of ignorance and vice to be in love with themselves, and to be content without light; and that if we wait till they wish to be reformed, we incur some risk of waiting for ever. It becomes them to remember, that although virtue is generally expedient to society, and vice usually the reverse, yet the effects of good or bad actions do not follow quickly enough to operate strongly on the vulgar, whose perceptions of interest are extremely gross and limited; and that it is a most sacred duty, incumbent on every government, to stimulate those perceptions in this case by every practicable method. What, in effect, (as has been intimated) is the whole of domestic polity and municipal law, but a grand series of restrictive provisions for the production of this very effect? To this mass of restraints a system of national education would, considered as a farther degree of legislative interference, make a most inconsiderable addition; at the same time that it would, as we firmly believe, supersede many of them, by operating as a preventive to a hundred evils which are now met only by painful and doubtful remedies.

It is impossible to dismiss this subject, without adverting to the confusion which has been introduced into the discussion of it by the use of the word *literature.* Literature, it is urged, is a good thing, but then why should we *all* be literary? Unquestionably there is no necessity for a nation of sçavans and critics, but still it may be true that we should be all able to read and write; as there is no inconsistency in saying, that all men must eat and drink, although all need not be restaurateurs and French cooks. A law for converting our whole population into tailors and habit-makers would be thought a very surprising one; but should any number of persons choose to

resume the garb of the ancient Picts, the legislature, we believe, would not be very severely blamed if it interfered to enforce the universal use of a more modern costume. After all, the objection proceeds upon views of human society, and upon feelings with respect to the claims and the moral value of the meanest of mankind, so completely at variance with our own sentiments, that we should be at a loss, within any moderate compass, to note all the points of difference. It being given, that the coalition of society has for its object the good of all, and it appearing to us incontrovertible that the education of the poor would greatly increase their chance of happiness, both here and hereafter, we never can consent to sacrifice the solid comforts and real interests of so great a majority of the people, to some fancied good of the whole, which resides we know not where, operates we know not how, and blesses we know not whom. The most plebeian groveller that ever patiently trudged on in the steps of his grandfathers and grandmothers, proceeded more safely than the philosopher who trusts himself without reins to the guidance of general principles of great strength and swiftness. Notwithstanding the wonders which the division of labour has effected for society, and although the systematic distribution of employments naturally separates, in some degree, the *thinking* from the *working* part of mankind; yet who sees not that this separation may become too wide, and that it tends to convert the major part of the community into mere machinery for the use of their betters? That such a division of a nation into tools on the one hand and workmen on the other, should be hailed by some persons as an advantage, is infinitely disgusting to those who properly appreciate the importance, the faculties, and the destinies of the individuals thus degraded; and it affords unfortunately some ground for the factious doctrine which has been so insolently preached up, that all government is a grand conspiracy of the few against the many. Yet there are philosophers who would not for the world check what they call this natural course of things. They would have the lower classes gradually kneaded down into the mere *material* part of society, possessing simply mobility, divisibility, figure, extension, and the other properties of matter; while the rich, and the learned, and the witty, and the philosophical, and the logical, are to constitute the *mind* which shall inspirit this mighty mass of body. The body they would indeed carefully cherish, *as* a body; they would have it to clog its ethereal inmate as little as possible; they would make it hardy and active and serviceable; they would have the body of a man, and not of a tailor; they would fit it for labour and sports and exercises, for digging and mining, and boxing and cudgelling, and bull-baiting; they would array it in a handsome uniform when it marched out to fight: but, "O, never let it encroach on the province of the mind! let it serve, but it shall not volunteer!" Philosophy may well exclaim in the language of a great man; "Save me from my friends! I can save myself from my enemies."

But perhaps we owe some apology to our readers for having so long occupied their attention on points which will not, we are persuaded, create much diversity of opinion among them. Here, then, we will spare them. Having contributed, as we would fain hope, at least to strengthen their impressions respecting the probable efficacy of a national system of education, we will not now undertake to discuss the facilities of reducing the idea to practice, or the sort of difficulties through which, when in any degree realized, it would probably have to fight its way. Certain it is, that the apprehension of its expensiveness, the advantage which small manu-

facturers derive from the auxiliary labour of their children, various prejudices, vulgar or refined, and, in general, the present complicated state of this great commercial society, would prove difficulties by no means despicable.

As to the poor-laws, we have declared ourselves unfavourable to their principle; but have not presumed to determine how far they have actually been prejudicial to this country, or, which is the same thing, how much risk is to be incurred for the sake of abolishing them. The inquiry would be difficult, and many subordinate questions of a perplexing nature are attached to it.

The fact is, these subjects are as yet hardly ripe for adjudication. The public discussion, which Mr. Whitbread has been chiefly instrumental in opening, will last for some time, and will give rise to a good deal of letter-press in various forms. Mr. Weyland's supplement to his "Short Inquiry," we have already mentioned; but this is not the only pamphlet on the subject, of which we have seen enough to think it valuable, without having had the leisure regularly to peruse it. The publications that give this article its title, deserve, and will obtain, the attention of the public.

Opportunities, therefore, of reconsidering our sentiments on this subject, will doubtless occur. In the mean time, we bid a temporary adieu to it, with stating, that the foregoing observations have been directed to two very important objects. First, as the view that has been recently taken of the principles of population must engage the very first thoughts, and engage them seriously, of every man who makes the science of legislating for the poor his study, we have briefly pointed out the results, political and moral, of that view. Secondly, we have attempted to recommend and to vindicate the proposed moral and religious instruction of the poor, as the only cure for the evils which at present embitter their condition, whether those evils be referred to the principle itself of compulsory relief, or to the injudicious application of that principle, or to any other source whatever. In prosecuting this twofold purpose, it has been our uniform endeavour to keep stedfastly in mind that truth which we shall close these reflections with once more strongly enunciating; we mean the necessity of always remembering, that the poor are not machines to be employed or disposed of at will, but beings immortal like ourselves, *our brethren, for whom Christ hath died.*

Sir William Forbes's Account of the Life and Writings of Dr. Beattie.

(Concluded from p. 396.)

WE have already given it as our opinion, that Dr. Beattie's views of the nature and extent, both of the corruption of human nature, and of the holiness which the Gospel prescribes, (as those views appear in the letters before us) are very defective; a remark which may be extended to some of his correspondents. Lady Mayne, after giving Dr. Beattie an account of an association formed by some persons of rank in London for the relief of the poor, observes, that the circumstance will afford him double satisfaction, "because it tends to confirm his system of *innate* goodness." What this system was, we are not informed; but there is no modification of sentiment, which the words can reasonably be supposed to convey, that is not opposed, both to the plain dictates of revelation, and to every rational deduction which can be drawn, either from the page of history, or from the facts which a scrutiny into one's own heart, when conducted by the light of Scripture, would disclose. It was therefore with regret that we found Dr. Beattie, instead of objecting to the language of his correspondent, re-

plying in the following terms. "Your charitable society is, as you observe, an honour to *my theory* of virtue; but what gives me much more pleasure, it does honour to the virtue and good sense of the age; it does honour to human nature." But if the theory of *innate* goodness could be established by such proofs, how many persons, *innately* good, might be pointed out in this metropolis, whose characters are nevertheless stained by not a few vicious, though fashionable, and, we are sorry to add, not disreputable indulgences?

But we should be glad to learn in what page of the sacred writings Dr. Beattie discovered his theory of "innate goodness." What is the language of Scripture? "All have sinned and come short of the glory of God." "There is none righteous, no not one." "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked." Therefore, "except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish;" "except ye be converted," nay, "born again, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." It represents our blessed Redeemer as dying for "the ungodly," as giving his life a ransom for "sinners;" and it describes the happy spirits around the throne of God, not as having been innately good, but as having been "redeemed to God," by the blood of Christ; as having "washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

We must ascribe to the defect which we have noticed in Dr. Beattie's religious views, the frequent recurrence of the phrase "a good heart," with other similar expressions employed to characterize, not persons who have been renewed and sanctified by the spirit of God, but persons who even doubt whether Christianity be true. (Vol. I. p. 401.) Such language, it must be allowed, is calculated to foster that lamentable delusion, unhappily too prevalent in the world, by which thousands, and tens of thousands, have been kept from embracing cordially those offers of grace and mercy which are made only to penitent sinners. They have *good hearts:* they are good enough already. But what says our Saviour? "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick;" and Christ "came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."

The next point to which we shall advert, is the opinion Dr. Beattie has expressed on that much agitated question, whether, for boys, a public or a private education be the most eligible. (Vol. I. p. 181.) Dr. Beattie gives a decided preference to the former, and many of his arguments possess considerable force. There is however this imperfection in his reasoning on the subject, that even if it were admitted that the comparison which he has instituted between a retired domestic education, and education at a public school, were clearly in favour of the latter, yet parents could not draw thence any practical rule for the direction of their own conduct. There is an alternative which Dr. Beattie has entirely overlooked; we mean that of private schools; an alternative which may possibly be found to exclude the evils incident to the other two systems of tuition. However that may be, its advantages and disadvantages ought at least to have been stated, in order to give a fair view of the whole of this important subject.

But there is a still more material defect in Dr. Beattie's discussion of this question. He has omitted to state, that the first object in the instruction of youth ought to be to make them *Christians*, the disciples and imitators of Jesus Christ; to teach them the art, so alien to the natural dispositions of man, of mortifying their evil propensities, of overcoming the world, of living to God. His reasonings on this occasion have no *necessary* reference to eternity, but seem to contemplate man as made only for this world. Had Dr. Beattie placed the question on the only ground on which it ought to

be placed; had he considered the spiritual interests of youth as deserving our paramount regard, we much doubt whether he would have recommended in such strong terms those schools which are properly called *public*, and which prove too often seminaries of vice, as well as of learning. It may sometimes, we admit, be a difficult point to decide between domestic education, and education in schools which admit such a limited number of pupils, as allows a master to exercise a parental care in forming their manners, and a parental vigilance in noting, and repressing every evil disposition. The decision of this question must turn entirely on the circumstances of each particular case; and although, we are inclined to think, that the latter mode will commonly be found preferable, yet we apprehend that the only general rule which can be laid down is this, that a parent is bound, on a full review of all these circumstances, to adopt the plan which, while it is practicable, is at the same time the most likely to contribute to his son's becoming an useful member of society, and a devoted servant of his God.

Dr. Beattie, in the course of his letter on education, takes occasion to remark, that one inconvenience attending private education, is "the suppressing of the principle of emulation, without which it rarely happens that a boy prosecutes his studies with alacrity or success." "True emulation," he adds, "especially in young and ingenuous minds, is a noble principle. I have known the happiest effects produced by it. I never knew it productive of any vice. In all public schools, it is or ought to be carefully cherished." (Vol. I. p. 182.)

It were much to be wished, that Dr. Beattie had enabled us to distinguish true from false emulation. For ourselves we are adverse to the principle in every shape which we have yet seen it to assume, whether in public or in private life, whether in youth or in mature age; and the admitted adoption of it, in all systems of public education, forms in our minds one of their principal vices. Had emulation been productive of those happy effects which its advocates ascribe to it, we should doubtless have seen it recognized in Holy Writ as a legitimate principle of action. But none of them have ventured to refer to this authority in support of their theory, which indeed appears to us repugnant to the general spirit of the evangelical precepts.

But it will be argued, "youth requires a powerful stimulus to exertion; and if the principle of emulation be suppressed, where will a substitute be found?" If we are correct in supposing emulation to be an unlawful principle of action, this argument can have little weight. But is emulation the only expedient to which we can resort for exciting the diligence of youth? Why may not the method pursued in the divine administration be advantageously followed by us? Why should we not endeavour to influence children, as the Almighty does his creatures, by a judicious system of rewards and punishments; and above all by labouring to excite in them, from their earliest years, a strong sense of their responsibility to God, and to impress on them, that they are bound; not indeed to outstrip their school-fellows, but to exert their talents, whatever those talents may be, to the utmost of their power. If a Christian had occasion to recommend activity in any worldly calling, surely he would feel himself bound to enforce the duty, not on the ground of its being right to rival others in wealth or consequence, but on such principles as these; "that habits of sloth are injurious and sinful; that God requires of us the diligent use of all the talents entrusted to us; that if any man provide not for his household, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel; that it is our duty to labour, working with

our hands, the thing that is good, not only that we may walk honestly toward them that are without, and that we may have lack of nothing; but that we may have to give to him that needeth." In like manner, ought we to accustom the minds of youth to feel the force of Christian motives, instead of those which are selfish and worldly; and to think much more of pleasing God than of excelling others. This subject has been so ably handled by Mr. Law in his "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life," that we are induced to refer our readers to the eighteenth chapter of that work, for a further elucidation of it *.

There is, however, one objection to the use of the principle of emulation, which does not appear to have occurred to Mr. Law, and which therefore we shall briefly touch upon. We mean the injustice, we had almost said cruelty, which often attends its application. It must be allowed, that if the case of the master were alone to be considered, that mode of education which assumes emulation for its basis is probably preferable to any other. To form boys into classes, to give them all the same tasks, and to require that all should perform it alike, whatever be the diversity of talent among them, must be productive of comparatively little trouble. But can a coarser expedient be well conceived? It resembles the driving system of the West Indies, where the cart-whip compels all, whether strong or weak, to an equal measure of exertion. One or two boys may execute the task assigned to them with little effort; a few more may perform it with greater labour, and some may be wholly unable, with their utmost application, to accomplish it. The first are praised, perhaps rewarded, not because they have been industrious, but because the quickness of their natural capacity may have put it in their power to trifle away a great portion of their time. The last are disgraced, perhaps punished, not because they have been negligent or inattentive, but because nature has denied them the same quick parts with some others. The first are thus rendered vain, and acquire perhaps habits of idleness and dissipation; while the last

* We shall here make a few extracts from the chapter above referred to, by way of inducing such of our readers as are unacquainted with it to peruse the whole. "The first passion," observes the pious author, "that we try to awaken in children, is pride. Whatever way of life we intend them for, we apply to the fire and vanity of their minds, and exhort them to every thing from corrupt motives. We stir them up to action from principles of strife and ambition, from glory, envy, and a desire of distinction, that they may excel others, and shine in the eyes of the world. And when we have taught them to scorn to be outdone by any, to bear no rival, to thirst after every instance of applause, to be content with nothing but the highest distinctions, then we begin to take comfort in them, and promise the world some mighty things from youths of such a glorious spirit. And after all this, we complain of the effects of pride, we wonder to see grown men actuated and governed by ambition, envy, scorn, and a desire of glory, not remembering that they were, all the time of their youth, called upon to all their action and industry upon the same principles. You teach a child to scorn to be outdone, to thirst for distinction and applause, and is it any wonder that he continues to act all his life in the same manner? Now, if a youth is ever to be so far a Christian as to govern his heart by the doctrines of humility, I would fain know at what time he is to begin it; or, if he is ever to begin it at all, why we train him up in tempers quite contrary to it? How dry and poor must the doctrine of humility sound to a youth, that has been spurred up to all his industry by ambition, envy, emulation, and a desire of glory and distinction? And if he is not to act by these principles when he is a man, why do we call him to act by them in his youth?" Mr. Law asks the question, Whether any one thinks that our Lord or his Apostles would have educated children in such principles?

are depressed and discouraged, and perhaps at length give up all cordial exertion in utter despair of success. Would it not be a much more judicious plan, though it might require a greater share of vigilance and labour on the part of masters, to endeavour to ascertain, as accurately as possible, the measure of each boy's capacity, and to proportion his task accordingly. Commendation and reward would not then be bestowed on natural gifts, but in consideration of the use which had been made of those gifts. The man who improved his two talents is represented, by our Lord in the parable, as deserving equal praise with him who had improved his five talents. And the equity of such a proceeding is obvious. It is not the *possession* of talents (they are given, not acquired) which in any case is the fit subject of praise or censure; but the purpose to which those talents are applied, and the industry with which they are exerted. We will only add, that we know masters who have had the good sense and the courage to proceed on the principles which we recommend, and to exclude, as much as possible, emulation from their system; and who have had the satisfaction of witnessing the success of the experiment.

Dr. Beattie observes, that he has never known emulation to be productive of any vice. Now we strongly suspect, that this very principle may have served to nourish that anxiety for worldly distinction, that thirst for worldly applause, and that morbid sensibility to the world's censure, discoverable in some parts of the work before us; in which we hear much of the "honour that cometh from man," and witness many a reciprocal effort, on the part of Dr. Beattie and his correspondents, to minister to each other's vanity. We do not of course mean to say, that the exaggerated compliments which pervade these volumes are to be traced to emulation as their source; but only that the tendency of that principle, when allowed to influence the conduct, is to foster a spirit of self-exaltation and self-esteem, a spirit which it is one of our first duties to repress, and which is at war with the most essential graces of the Christian character.

There is only one other topic on which it is our intention to animadvert, before we relieve ourselves and our readers from the unpleasant task of pointing out some of the reprehensible parts of the volumes before us. We allude to the account given by Dr. Beattie of the manner in which, while in London, he employed one of his Sabbaths. We will give the account in his own words.

"*Sunday*, Aug. 15. We proposed (Dr. and Mrs. Beattie) to have gone yesterday to Arnos Grove, but Sir Joshua Reynolds insisted on it that we should stay till tomorrow, and partake of a haunch of venison with him to day, at his house on Richmond Hill. Accordingly at eleven, Mrs. Beattie, Miss Reynolds, Mr. Baretti, and Mr. Palmer, set out in Sir Joshua's coach for Richmond. At twelve, he and I went in a postchaise, and by the way paid a visit to the Bishop of Chester, who was very earnest with us to fix a day for dining with him. After dining at Richmond, we all returned to town about eight o'clock. This day I had a great deal of conversation with Sir Joshua Reynolds on critical and philosophical subjects." (Vol. I. p. 276.)

We were greatly mortified when we read this passage, which is so contrived, by the insertion of the word *Sunday* at the beginning of it, as to force on the reader's attention this strange diversion of that sacred day from its proper objects. It surely might have occurred to Dr. Beattie when he recorded, and to his biographer when he published this account, that Sunday was a day which ought to have been employed for other purposes than voluntary and unnecessary travelling, and that during the hours of divine service, enjoying the luxuries of a venison feast, or even conversing on critical and philosophical subjects. It might have occurred to them that such a relation would encourage the idle and voluptuous in continu-

ing to violate the sanctity of the Sabbath, and would sanction that neglect of religious institutions, which is one of the great sources of the infidelity and profligacy of the age. In pity therefore to the world, if not to Dr. B., this anecdote ought to have been suppressed.

If we have thus freely censured some things in the life before us, it is not because we are insensible to Dr. Beattie's worth, or to the important services which he has rendered to the cause of Christianity; but because we are deeply impressed with both. The same things in ordinary men might have passed without observation. But the weight of Dr. Beattie's sentiments, and of Dr. Beattie's example, is likely to be felt by a very large number of well-meaning and even religious persons. We are anxious therefore to obviate the effect of such an influence, by enabling our readers to separate what is to be reprehended in the views and conduct of this amiable and useful man from what is to be praised and imitated. In order to do justice to his character, we will here extract the most material parts of the delineation which has been made of it by his worthy biographer.

"That he was a poet and philosopher of real and original genius, his writings in the possession of the public are the strongest testimonies. The sweetness and harmony of his numbers, the richness of his fancy, and the strictness of moral inculcated in his practical compositions, are such as will long secure to him a high degree of reputation." "There were few branches of science with which he was not in some degree conversant, except mathematics, geometry, and mechanics; for which he used to say, he not only had no turn, but that every application to them brought on his headachs. His chief acquirements were in moral science. In religion, his favourite books, besides the English Liturgy, were Butler, Clarke, Secker, Porteus. Of the classics, Homer, Horace, Cæsar, and above all, Virgil.

"His prose writings were far from being calculated merely to amuse the fancy and delight the imagination: they were admirably fitted to improve and amend the heart. In his 'Essay on Truth,' it was his professed aim to combat the fashionable philosophy of the sceptics of his day; and it may be said, I believe with justice, that this work did much towards bringing that philosophy into the discredit in which it is now sunk. His 'Evidences of Christianity,' is perhaps the most popular, as it is certainly among the most useful of his prose writings." "Those who had the benefit of his tuition can best tell of his merit as an instructor of youth. Some of them I have heard expatiate with delight on the unwearied pains he bestowed, not by the mere formal delivery of a lecture, but by the continued course he pursued of examination and repetition, to imprint the precepts of philosophy and religion on the minds of the youth committed to his charge. As a professor, not his own class only, but the whole body of students of the university, looked up to him with esteem and veneration. The profound piety of the public prayers, with which he began the business of each day, arrested the attention of the youngest and most thoughtless. The excellence of his moral character, his gravity blended with cheerfulness, his strictness joined with gentleness, his favour to the virtuous and diligent, and even the mildness of his reproofs to those who were less attentive, rendered him the object of their respect and admiration." "To gain his favour was the highest ambition of every student; and the gentlest word of disapprobation was a punishment, to avoid which no exertion was deemed too much.

"His great object was not merely to make his pupils philosophers, but to render them good men, pious Christians*, loyal to their king, and attached to the British constitution: pure in morals, happy in the consciousness of a right conduct, and friends to all mankind."

"Throughout the whole course of his life, Dr. Beattie was most exemplary in the discharge of the relative duties of a son, a brother, a husband, a father, and a friend. Of his conduct towards his unhappy wife, it is impossible to speak in terms of too high commendation. Mrs. Beattie had the misfortune to inherit that most dreadful of all human ills, a distempered imagination, which, in a very few years after their marriage, shewed itself in

* In one of his letters, vol. ii. p. 67. Dr. Beattie thus writes: "My first wish in regard to my two boys is, that they may be good Christians; and in one way or another useful in society."

caprices and follies, that embittered every hour of his life, while he strove at first to conceal her disorder; till at last it broke out into downright insanity, which rendered her seclusion from society absolutely necessary. During every stage of her illness, he watched and cherished her with the utmost tenderness and care; using every means at first that medicine could furnish for her recovery, and afterwards when her condition was found to be hopeless, procuring for her every accommodation and comfort that could tend to alleviate her sufferings."

"The strictness and regularity of Dr. Beattie's piety was shewn, not merely by a regular attendance, while his health permitted, on the public ordinances of religion, but by the more certain and unequivocal testimony of private devotion. I have been informed by his niece, that after he had retired at night to his chamber, she frequently overheard his voice rendered audible in the ardour of prayer; and she has also told me that even throughout the day, when she knew his spirits to be more than usually depressed, while he thought himself alone, she could occasionally perceive that he was offering up his orisons to heaven with the utmost fervour. His pious resignation to the divine will under some of the hardest trials that flesh is heir to, was indeed severely proved during the greatest part of his life; but it is consoling to know that it was not tried in vain.

"Great tenderness of heart and the keenest sensibility of soul, qualities very frequently the concomitants of genius, were eminently conspicuous in the character of Dr. Beattie. They rendered him 'tremblingly alive' to the sorrows and the sufferings of others, and produced in him the warmest emotions of friendship, with an earnest desire to perform every service in his power to all within his reach."

"In his disposition he was humane and charitable. And it has been told of him by his family, that no suppliant, to his knowledge, ever went from his door unsatisfied."

Sir William Forbes closes his account with the following striking reflection, rendered still more affecting by his having outlived the completion of the present work only a few months.

"On reviewing the long period of forty years that have elapsed since the commencement of our intimacy, it is impossible for me not to be deeply affected, by the reflection, that of the numerous friends with whom he and I were wont to associate, at the period of our earliest acquaintance, all, I think, except three, have already paid their debt to nature; and that in no long time (how soon is known only to HIM the great disposer of all events) my gray hairs shall sink into the grave, and I also shall be numbered with those who have been. May a situation so awful make its due impression on my mind! And may it be my earnest endeavour to employ that short portion of life which yet remains to me, in such a manner, as when that last dread hour shall come, in which my soul shall be required of me, I may look forward with trembling hope to a happy immortality, through the merits and mediation of our ever blessed Redeemer."

The account which Dr. Beattie gives of the economy of the Bishop of London's (then of Chester's) family, and of the assiduity of his pastoral labours, reflects great honour on that venerable prelate. (Vol. ii. p. 143—149.) In a subsequent letter he relates an interesting anecdote of a gentleman of French extraction, a Mr. Boissier, who had been educated in all the folly of French philosophy, and who was "an avowed and barefaced infidel," being converted by the Bishop's preaching.

"In this temper of mind he went to hear the Bishop preach at Bath about two years ago. The text was, 'Truly this man was the Son of God.' He was so much struck with the Bishop's eloquence and reasoning, that he made no scruple to declare to his friends, that his mind was changed, and that he was determined to study the Christian religion with candour, and without delay. An acquaintance soon took place between the Bishop and him, and they were mutually pleased with each other. Books were put into his hands, and among others my little book. To shorten my story, he is now a sincere Christian; and is just going to publish a vindication of Christianity, which he has translated from the French of M. Bennet." (Vol. ii. p. 215.)

It is greatly to Dr. Beattie's honour, that his attention having been called to the Slave Trade, several years before it became the subject of par-

liamentary discussion, he took that part in the question which humanity and religion equally and imperiously enjoined. He wrote a discourse on the slavery of the negroes about the year 1778; but it was never published.

It was our intention to have closed this review, by extracting the interesting account Dr. Beattie has given of his interview with their Majesties, together with the affecting letters which he wrote on the occasion of the death of both his sons, and which manifest no small space of pious resignation; but we have been led to contract our review, in order to afford room for the insertion of the article which immediately follows, and which, having a reference to the work before us, renders some part of what we had intended to say, unnecessary.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS, *&c. &c.*

CURSORY REMARKS ON THE REVIEW OF DR. BEATTIE'S LIFE IN THE LAST CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

——Edward and Alfred
Clos'd their long glories with a sigh, to find
Th' unwilling gratitude of base mankind.

I AM a constant reader, a zealous recommender, and a sincere admirer of the Christian Observer, a publication which I really think happily calculated to diminish the prevailing mischiefs arising from blind zeal and fanaticism on the one hand, from a worldly religion and lax principles on the other, and from violence, prejudice, and party spirit on both. If I might presume to point out any material fault in a work possessing so many excellences, it should be that niggard and reluctant approbation sometimes bestowed by way of praise; and that eager vigilance to detect and expose petty faults, in reviewing the writings of a certain respectable description of men, who, though they have spent their lives in the strenuous support of Christianity, yet, unfortunately, do not in all points of doctrine agree with the critic. That the critic is sometimes more orthodox, and often more spiritual, than the objects of his censure, cannot perhaps be denied. But though approbation may be refused, charity should not be withheld. God forbid that the standard of the glorious Gospel should ever be lowered to accommodate it to any class of men, or to any set of principles! Abhorred be that latitudinarian candor which would compliment men out of their salvation! That candor which would insinuate, that there exists no radical distinction between truth and error!

But suppose the case—an author publishes half a dozen different works—if in five of them he defends the truth or inculcates the doctrines or duties of Christianity, and in the sixth, makes little mention of it, have we any right therefore to propose it as a matter of doubt whether he is a serious Christian, or a respectable Deist? Shall we suspect the probability of his disbelieving revelation on the negative ground of his omitting to treat of it? One might fairly blame him for having neglected any occasion of introducing Christianity; but it would be hard to infer from an accidental silence, that he disbelieved it. Something of this spirit of harsh judgment I have, with no small regret, remarked in a very few instances in the Christian Observer, especially in the Review of Books. But in no instance, perhaps, has it appeared so prominently, as in the Review of Sir William Forbes's

Life of Dr. Beattie, in your last number for June.

I have lived long enough, Sir, for I am not a young man, to remember the impression made on the general mind by the publication of *the Essay on the Immutability of Truth.* And surely the ABDIEL, the single Philosopher, who had the righteous boldness to stand forth and attack David Hume, intrenched as he was within the forts and fastnesses of his own seducing metaphysics, shining in the full blaze of his false glory, and environed by a host of worshippers;—the man, I say, who dragged down from his lofty niche "this god of the idolatry" of the philosophers of Scotland, and the wits of France;—this courageous, and, what is still more, this successful assailant of the splendid sophist, deserved to have his memory treated with tenderness, if not with gratitude; by all, at least who profess to believe in the Christian Revelation.*

It is between twenty and thirty years since I have looked into *the Essay on the Immutability of Truth.* Struck with its excellences and with its effects, I did not then attend to deficiencies and imperfections which it doubtless contains in common with most other books. Indeed in the contemplation of beauty, I cordially make over to others the gratification and the glory of detecting warts, and exposing freckles. I carry back with pleasure to the period of this publication, the remembrance that the cause of revealed religion was not only ably maintained by the writer, but that it became fashionable also for the modish reader to believe it and to defend it.

The Essay on Truth was not merely valuable as a religious speculation, or a rectifier of inoperative opinions, but the consequences to human practice of the system there exposed, and its effects upon human happiness were laid open to the unthinking and the profligate. The cobwebs of metaphysics were swept away, the subtleties of a frivolous but most dangerous philosophy were detected, the dark ambushes of verbal ambiguities exposed, artful misrepresentations laid open, and the homage which had been paid to the vain assumers of universal knowledge, discredited. Instead of magnifying the object which he was about to encounter, in order to exalt his own prowess in its demolition, Beattie declares that the sceptical philosophy, instead of being alarming by its depth, was a flimsy scheme of verbal subtilty; which required little genius or learning to put together, but was compounded of a captious temper, an irreligious spirit, a command of words, and an extraordinary degree of vanity and presumption. Thus to diminish the perils one is going to encounter is surely true magnanimity. Of that magnanimity it will remain a standing monument, that while he degraded the system, he did justice to the talents, and, (in the recorded instance, at least) to "the virtues" of its champion.

The Reviewer of Dr. Beattie's letters brings several heavy charges against them—that they are "occasionally dull"—that they sometimes exhibit "false logic and false morality," and that "his name and example, if not counteracted, may be of pernicious and extensive influence." I lament that the author of the Minstrel has incurred, I hope he has not deserved, the first charge: as to the two last, they are indeed most grave accusations. As Anthony says, If it be so, it is a grievous fault, and grievously must *Cæsar* answer it.

The Reviewer grants indeed, that in his letters "an air of piety is frequently diffused over his

* The late Lord Monboddo who was staying in Paris, on the Douglas cause, while Hume was Secretary to Lord Hertford's Embassy in that city, told the writer of this paper that all the French wits and ladies were as fond of Hume as if he had been Anti-Christ.

thoughts on men and things, but that this is so little marked by any reference to the Christian Creed, that we should doubt, were it not for his other writings, whether he was a sincere believer or only a sober respectable Deist."

But let me, with becoming respect to so pious and sensible a writer, ask the Reviewer, whether it be his custom to sit down to the perusal of a collection of letters, between a set of persons of opposite characters, various stations, and dissimilar professions, with an expectation of finding a series of Theological Treatises? When a man is composing such a work as the *Essay on Truth*, his mind is necessarily wound up to a pitch which requires occasional relaxation. Such a relaxation is afforded by the interchange of friendly letters, in which he does not consider himself as sustaining the character of an author much less that of a theologian. A casual intimation therefore of a single doctrine, an incidental illustration of some apposite truth, is as much as can be reasonably looked for in general epistolary intercourse, neither intended for religious discussion, nor yet for the press. Though it is much to be regretted that religious subjects do not make a larger part of general correspondence, yet if every man in every letter thought himself obliged to recapitulate his Creed; and to make a solemn confession of his articles of faith every time he wrote to inquire after the health of a friend, the revenue would undergo a considerable loss in the diminution of the Post Office receipts. Cowper, even the Seraphic Cowper, whom it is impossible to read without rapture and to admire without fondness, though he is, even in his most insignificant letters, constantly fascinating, is far from being constantly religious: though he always charms, he does not always instruct. Surely in a world so full of woe, to please innocently is a talent not to be severely reprehended; especially in those writers, the bulk of whose lives and works is seriously instructive. So far from censuring it, I think it is a fortunate circumstance, when an author who has been essentially instructive by his Theological works, enables us by some lighter, yet safe and useful composition, to lead our gayer young friends into such a taste for his writings, as to induce a wish for further acquaintance; and thus pave the way to the more weighty work. Many a young person has the writer of this paper led, from a perusal of the sprightly *Provincial Letters* of Pascal, to the study of his profoundly serious pieces. It has surely been no disadvantage to the cause of Christianity that the most deeply religious writer which France has perhaps produced has been allowed, even on the unsuspected testimony of Voltaire, to be also the first wit.

I have not time to follow the Reviewer through all his criticisms. And it is but justice to acknowledge that he has not, in the present paper, *concluded* his animadversions. Those which remain to be made, it is hoped, may help to lessen the painful feelings excited by the former part, but will hardly be able to do away the injury which Dr. Beattie's character must sustain in the minds of all who form their opinions on those of the Christian Observer.

It is impossible to judge with fairness the work of any author, and especially his letters, without taking into the account that no writer can possibly mention *every thing every where;* and because he does not, thence to infer, and to produce this inference as a proof, that he rejects or disbelieves any given doctrine. A man cannot say every thing that is to be said on any topic, every time that topic is incidentally introduced; yet the Reviewer virtually censures Dr. Beattie for not having done this: some of his remarks brought to my mind, that, when very young, I went to

hear an admired preacher. His subject was the Creation. At the end of two or three minutes, before he had half opened his plan, a grave lady who sat next me lifted up her hands and eyes with a strong expression of displeasure, and exclaimed aloud, "not a word of redemption, not a word of redemption, I will go out of the church." "Have a little patience, madam, whispered I, every thing in its season;" and indeed this most important point found its due place in the sequel of the discussion.

In a letter to Sir W. Forbes, there is a passage on the *simplicity* of Christianity, in which Beattie expresses his admiration of the divine goodness in so ordering the gospel dispensation, that that which brings salvation to all should be intelligible to all. This appeared to be an important truth, clearly and forcibly expressed. But this passage the Reviewer fastens on with more than usual disapprobation. For this asperity I can find no possible ground, but that Beattie made use of the term "the gospels," when he probably meant the New Testament. If he *did* mean the gospels, he by no means appears to have used the word exclusively. The critic indeed intimates that there may be only an *obscurity* on the expression; if so, would not candour have drawn a favourable conclusion, or prudence have forborne to drag it into light.

If I were to mark with peculiar disapprobation any one passage, it would be that in which the Reviewer reprobates the concessions which Beattie, in a letter to Dr. Blacklock, makes in favour of certain good qualities and "virtues" of his famed antagonist David Hume. These concessions in my opinion confer the highest credit on the candour and integrity of Beattie's mind, and the fairness and purity of his motives of attack. They serve completely to acquit him of being actuated by personal dislike, private animosity, or envy of the fame or talents of his rival. The very words which the Reviewer has selected as a ground of censure I should have chosen as a subject of approbation. But, to be placed in the critic's chair, is, *I believe*, for I never sat in it, a dangerous elevation! Because Beattie allows, in a private letter to a friend, that Hume, the object of his severe public attack*, had "virtues," the Reviewer's avowed, but not very logical, inference is, that Beattie thought Hume "a virtuous character." One need not go far for a confutation of this mode of reasoning. For my own part, though I greatly disliked his politics, I believe the late Mr. Fox to have had amiable qualities, and even "virtues;" but I would sturdily oppose any one who should affirm that he was "a virtuous character." Here the Reviewer neglects to manifest his usual good sense and religious discrimination, by not distinguishing between those natural constitutional good qualities, which Dr. Beattie (and many others who knew him) allowed Hume to possess, and those religious principles, to prove him destitute of which, he dedicated a thick quarto volume.

But even admitting that Beattie was wrong in all the instances adduced by the Reviewer, ought a few careless periods in private letters, written in haste, sickness, and sorrow, by the most nervous of all men, to invalidate the worth, or counterbalance the usefulness of that volume?

I doubt not but the Reviewer will have the candour, in his next paper, to acknowledge the singularly devout acquiescence to the divine will, with which Dr. B. bore the loss of two darling and highly gifted sons—his whole stock! at a time too when his heart was nearly broken by the most calamitous of all

* Many of Beattie's friends thought him too *acrimonious* in his treatment of Hume. For this he will doubtless bring down the thunders of the Edinburgh Critics on his devoted head. Poor Beattie! Scylla and Charybdis are equally fatal to him.

domestic trials—the insanity of a beloved wife. "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord," was his meek ejaculation.

It is not in my power to enumerate the passages which reflect credit on Dr. B. in this publication; but had he only written that one letter to the present Bishop of London (see Vol. I. p. 360), in which, under very narrow circumstances, he refuses the voluntary offer, from a most honourable quarter, of a benefice in the Church of England of £500 a year; the pure, honest, and disinterested motives which he assigns for that refusal would have entitled him to the peculiar respect of every conscientious man. It is true the Reviewer speaks of *actions* as if they were equivocal things. They are so when the character from which they proceed is equivocal, but in opposite cases, surely actions are no bad commentary upon doctrines.

When the reviewer confesses that "a zeal for the truth of the Holy Scriptures is indeed manifested (in Beattie's Letters) wherever the character or writings of its opposers come into view, but that that zeal is not extended to the *contents* of the sacred volume," he speaks a language which is to me totally unintelligible. I cannot comment on what I do not understand.

Evangelical religion is indeed the true and only ground of peace and of safety. But let not such as have the supreme happiness of possessing it in a higher measure, exclude from its blessed hope all those, who either do not possess so bright an evidence to their title, or who, possessing it, may not express their sense of it in the language to which *they* are accustomed; let not the better informed, and more enlightened, rashly drive out of the field, as unworthy to be mustered in the Christian ranks, every well disposed brother, whose disadvantageous habits of life, and destitution of pious acquaintance, may have given a bent and bias to his conversation and his letters, less spiritual than is found in those who have lived under more propitious circumstances, and who have always breathed the purer atmosphere of religious society. Let us remember that the former class have sometimes more inward piety than they appear to have; while some few of the latter description, not from hypocrisy, but from the habit of making much of religion consist of *talk*, may sometimes display at least *full as much* as they possess. The writer of this paper has often been struck with edifying manifestations of the Christian temper in those who could not perhaps exhibit so distinct a view of some of the Christian doctrines; while others have been observed to maintain those doctrines with a spirit the very opposite to *his*, who proposed his being "meek and lowly" as the special ground of imitation to his followers.

There is a class of worthy men, humble, pious, conscientious, sober-minded, active in good works, and that on right principles, who yet do not seem to possess very clear views on certain doctrinal points. Several of this class have I known, and have sometimes distinguished by the appellation of *Bishop Wilson's Christians*, who are now, I doubt not, rejoicing in heaven, pardoned and accepted through the blood of that Saviour to whom alone they looked for salvation, though on earth their steps were doubtful, and their prospects clouded.—Oh! there is many a holy tear shed, many a contrite sigh breathed, to which no eye is witness, no ear attentive, but HIS to whom the eye and the heart are lifted! Many a devout soul is pining in secret for want of the opportunity of expanding its joys and mitigating its sorrows in pious intercourse, for want of the means of repairing its light and heat in "the communion of saints." Dr. Beattie once lamented to the writer of this letter, who was sympathizing with him on a heavy domestic trial, that he was,

even in that eminent seat of learning in which he was a professor, grievously destitute at that period of the means of religious conversation, which he said was the balm of which his wounded heart stood in need.

But Dr. Beattie possessed another title to peculiar regard from the Christian Observer. It is well known (and it was one great bond of union between him and the writer of this letter), that he was one of the first, if not the very first, mover in the grand question of the slave trade abolition. And Mr. Wilberforce, for his zeal in this holy cause, as well as for his other innumerable excellences, had not a more sincere and warm admirer; nor, had circumstances permitted, would he have had a more able coadjutor.

It should not be forgotten, that Dr. Beattie was *not a clergyman*. And though it is certain that the obligations to piety and virtue are equally binding on a layman; yet surely the latter hazards less violation of duty or decorum, by applying his talents to topics of taste and general literature, provided always that no thought or word be found unfavourable to any one principle of Christianity. And those who wish to imbue their children's minds with the elements of sound knowledge, elegant criticism, or genuine taste, will not easily find a safer guide than the author of "Moral Science," of the "Minstrel," and of "Essays on Truth, Poetry, &c. &c."

Dr. Beattie has his weaknesses. In one of them he resembles Cowper. I mean in his not always exactly appreciating the characters of some of the great and the gay with whom he corresponded, or of whom he has occasion to speak. But though he blameably overrates the worth of one or two persons, and falls into the too natural fault of proportioning his commendation, not to their merit, but to their kindness, yet something may perhaps be said in extenuation of this fault, so far at least as to vindicate his *sincerity*, and to rescue him from the suspicion of base flattery. Two causes seem to contribute to this error. His naturally favourable estimate of mankind was not chastised by a sufficiently strong conviction of the depth of human corruption on the one hand; and on the other, buried as he was within the walls of a Scotch University, his judgment in individual cases needed correction; he wanted that just knowledge of character which is only to be obtained by mixing in the world at large.

Though he was always considered as a very humble man, of great modesty, and manners singularly unassuming, yet the Reviewer has discovered that he was proud and arrogant, because in expressing his gratitude to Sir William Forbes, he assures him, that "he is not one of the ungrateful, (nor as far as *good intentions* can confer merit) one of the undeserving." Where is the spirit of pride and self-sufficiency in this declaration? Surely the remark is most hypercritical. Surely there are numberless cases in which an humble man may hold himself not unworthy of the friendship of his fellow creatures, "at least as far as *good intentions* are concerned," who yet holds himself most unworthy of the favour of God, which favour he would receive as of pure grace and mercy.

Dr. Beattie's sensible and tender mind was tremblingly alive to friendship. "The acquaintance of good men," he declares in one of his letters, "was almost the only temporal object of his ambition." It is hardly possible to animadvert on the passage just alluded to, without incurring the danger of levity. How would it sound in a familiar letter, in which nothing of religion had been brought forward, and in answer to one which had breathed nothing but the effusions of kindness,

instead of saying, "I will endeavour to do nothing undeserving of your friendship" — how, I repeat, would it sound to say (in the texts quoted by the Reviewer, as applicable to the occasion) don't throw away your affection on me—"I am born in sin"—"I am insufficient to think any thing of myself"—"In my flesh dwelleth no good thing"—"Hold thou me up, and I shall be safe"? Would not these awful truths, brought forward on so trivial and irrelevant an occasion, be a violation of the rule, not less christian than classical, of *not making the Deity appear on occasions unworthy of his interference?* And was it not this imprudent use of Scripture language which sometimes lessened the effect of the piety of certain good men of the seventeenth century, who by degrading the terms of Holy Scripture, and habitually applying them to the most ordinary concerns of life, brought that to be suspected of cant, which, in many instances, was really piety—but piety disfigured by bad taste.

It has often been lamented, that it is difficult to know *how* to do good. May I venture to assert, that it is almost as difficult to know *when* to do it? If a certain class of pious persons could be brought to believe that prudence is a gift of God as well as zeal, though they may be doing much service to religion at present, they would then be able to do a great deal more.

The great Ruler of the world, and of the Church, is pleased to employ very different artificers to build up and keep in repair that Church. He bestows various talents on his several instruments, accommodated to their different operations. And this *division of labour* contributes to the beauty, stability, and perfection of the edifice. Archbishop Leighton could not perhaps have convinced the learned sceptic by that depth of argument which is found in *the Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion.* Nor could the profound Butler, probably, have extracted that wonderful sweetness and spirit from the Epistle of St. Peter, which is exhibited in the commentary of Leighton.

Sir, I am no controversialist. In a long life, I have never till this moment publicly attacked the opinions of any man. As I write without rancour (for I do not know to whom I am writing), so I shall read without resentment whatever may be said by way of answer; but allow me to declare, that

Be its intents wicked or charitable,

I do not design to make any reply. The time is not far distant, when both the reviewer, and the person who is now addressing him, though not perhaps lofty marks for the arms of posthumous attack, like Dr. Beattie, may yet stand in need of the vindication of some kind surviving friend. That we may all soon want a charitable hand, to draw a veil over our own infirmities, should, methinks, operate on the minds of those who do not act under the influence of a higher principle. I am fully aware that a favourable judgment of the undeserving is not charity, but weakness; but I am as fully persuaded, that a candid construction, where the merit is obvious and the error doubtful, is a temper very consonant to the spirit of that religion, of which, when it is divided by the great CHAMPION OF FAITH himself, into three branches, charity is made the first in magnitude, and the longest in duration. Charity will continue in full, and glorious, and everlasting exercise, when faith itself shall be swallowed up in complete fruition.

ANONYMOUS.

Although we by no means wish to diminish the effect of our correspondent's letter in producing a more favourable impression of the character of Dr. Beattie than our review is calculated to convey, we must nevertheless take the liberty of making a few brief remarks on it. We agree with him indeed in most of his general positions:

but we question the justice of their application in the present instance.

1. Having had no personal knowledge of Dr. Beattie, we are obliged to form our opinion of his character and sentiments from the work before us. We profess not to judge the man, but the portrait which is there exhibited of him.

2. We must protest against that species of candour which would overlook errors in sentiment, or defects in character, in deference to the respectability or eminent usefulness of the individual who is chargeable with them. We should be the last to drag either the one or the other unnecessarily before the bar of the public. But when both are brought forward by a biographer, not only without censure, but with an express or implied claim to general approbation, we think it becomes the Christian Observer not to be silent, but to declare his clear and unequivocal dissent. Few have rendered more essential services to the Christian cause than Dr. Paley and Mr. Fletcher of Madely. But would it be right, in reviewing the lives of these eminent men, to pass unnoticed, for example, the unscriptural views entertained by the former on the subject of regeneration, or the contempt shewn by the latter for the rules of ecclesiastical discipline? In proportion as any individual is raised above the rest of the world by his talents or his worth, does it become important to scrutinize every opinion and practice to which the sanction of his name is employed in giving currency.

3. We fully admit that the mere absence, in familiar letters, of religious remark or doctrinal exposition is not a fair subject of censure. But we cannot find that in reviewing the letters of Dr. Beattie we have been guilty of this error, or that from mere *omission* we have drawn any inferences unfavourable to his character. Our remarks proceed not on what has been *omitted*, but on what has been *stated* by him.

4. We also fully admit that it would be as ridiculous as our correspondent makes it appear to be, to interlard communications on trivial subjects with scriptural quotations, or pious exclamations or aphorisms. But we may and ought to expect, that however trivial be the subject, nothing shall be said on it which is irreconcilable with scripture, or with just views of religious truth.

5. Our correspondent refers to Cowper's letters. It is the very instance which we should have chosen to adduce, both in illustration and defence of the part we have taken. Many of Cowper's letters have no reference whatever to religion. But in none of them, not even in the gayest of them, will one sentence be found which is inconsistent with sound religious principles. Could this have been said of Beattie's letters, we should have been disposed to be satisfied with the correctness of his views of Christianity, even although he had been entirely silent upon the subject.

6. We do not know that in any of his works Dr. Beattie has expressed opinions on the great fundamental doctrines of the gospel, different from those which his familiar letters contain.

7. What is virtue? Does it mean nothing more than the amiable qualities which a man may naturally possess; his affibility, his good humour, his kindness to his friends? Or does it imply a virtuous disposition, a virtuous motive? On the decision of this question will depend the propriety of ascribing *virtues* to such a man as Hume. "By their fruits shall ye know them." "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

8. In saying that Dr. Beattie has manifested a zeal for the truth of the scriptures, but that that zeal is not extended to their *contents*, we meant nothing more than that the anxiety which he displayed in maintaining the general credit of revelation, did not extend to the

maintaining in their purity the doctrines which that revelation had made known to us. He has established, for example, the divine origin of Christianity, by his book on its evidences; but he will be allowed to have thrown some doubt on the doctrine of human corruption in his letters.

9. We are certainly no enemies to the cultivation of taste and literature; but we think with our correspondent that they ought to be the handmaids of religion.

Having made these remarks, we beg to assure our able and ingenious correspondent, that we really feel indebted to him for his communication, and that we readily concur in the propriety of making all those allowances in the case of Dr. Beattie which he has suggested. Our only solicitude is that any evil effect may be obviated which the opinions of a man so deservedly respected as Dr. Beattie might be supposed capable of producing.

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL INTELLIGENCE, *&c. &c.*

GREAT BRITAIN.

African Institution.

Of this infant Institution we gave a full account in our Number for April last, p. 270. On the 15th instant a second General Meeting took place at Freemason's Hall, Queen Street, His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester in the Chair, which was attended by many persons of distinction, and among the rest by Lord Howick, Lord Selkirk, Lord Valentia, Lord Headley, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. &c. &c. A Report of the Committee was read, containing a view of the objects proposed by the Institution, and of the means for carrying them into effect, together with a set of regulations for the management of its affairs. These were adopted, and will shortly be printed for distribution, when we shall take the opportunity of laying the substance of the Report before our readers. The following is the scale of subscription which has been proposed, viz. Hereditary Governors, Sixty Guineas or upwards at one time; Life Governors, Thirty Guineas at one time; Governors, Three Guineas per annum; Life Members, Ten Guineas at one time; Members, One Guinea per annum. A considerable sum was immediately subscribed. Farther subscriptions are received by Messrs. Down, Thornton, and Co. and several other Bankers in London, by H. Thornton, Esq. the Treasurer, and by Mr. Macaulay, the Secretary, at No. 26, Birchin Lane.

Preparing for publication.—A new edition of *Williams's Mineral Kingdom*, by Dr. Miller, Public Lecturer on Chemistry at Edinburgh, in 2 vols. 8vo.:—*An Exposition of the Historical Books of the New Testament, with Reflections*, in three volumes, 8vo. by the late Rev. Tim. Kenrick:—*A Poetical Translation of Hesiod, with Dissertations and Notes*, by Mr. Elton:—And a *Treatise on Comparative Elocution*, by Mr. Ryland.

Mr. Bowyer, of Pall Mall, has issued proposals for a work, which is intended to commemorate the triumph of humanity in the cause of the natives of Africa. It will be called, *A Tribute of the Fine Arts, in Honour of the Abolition of the Slave Trade;* and will contain Original Poems by Gentlemen, who have already given distinguished proofs of their poetical talents, besides extracts from some of the most eminent authors. These will be embellished by nearly 20 plates by the first Engravers, the subjects from original Cabinet Pictures by the first painters. The work will form one handsome volume in large 4to. printed by Bensley, on superfine wove paper. It will contain a striking likeness of Mr. Wilberforce, and will be dedicated, by permission, to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Patron, and the Directors and Governors of the African Institution. The price to Subscribers will be Three Guineas.

A new publication has lately been announced to the public, under the title of the *Encyclopædia of Manufactures*, in which

it is meant to give an account of every Manufacture, tracing the raw material from its growth, till it be delivered into the hands of the workmen, developing the various modes of its fabrication, detailing the progress of improvements, and giving hints for their farther extension. A Part, consisting of six sheets, is to be published every two months.

From a new system adopted in airing the Earl of Lonsdale's extensive coal-works near Whitehaven, the miners have been free from any serious accidents for several years. The inflammable air, or dirt as the workmen call it, is now made useful in carrying on the works. They have collected a very large quantity of it, at the bottom of one of their upcast shafts and keep it constantly burning, in order to rarify the air in the pit. The heat from it exceeds that of the largest coal fires. The speed of the common atmospheric air is thus greatly accelerated, while the expence of attendance and coals, which is very considerable at other upcast shafts, is saved.

Every friend to the British Navy will learn with pleasure, that the ROYAL NAVAL ASYLUM is at length upon the eve of completion. This Institution, which is now transplanted from Paddington to Greenwich Park, and that of the Military Asylum for soldiers' children, at Chelsea, may be considered as foremost amongst those monuments that claim for the era in which we live, the veneration of posterity. The situations chosen for each of these seminaries, close to the great colleges of Greenwich and Chelsea, are highly appropriate to the objects of both, and calculated to impress alike upon the minds of the veteran and the youth, love of their country and zeal in her cause; and besides accomplishing a point so grateful to national feelings, as that of rescuing from misery and vice the orphans of the soldier and seaman, it will have the effect of giving to both services a supply of youths regularly trained up and educated for these respective lines, and competent to fill the situations of petty officers, upon whose knowledge and conduct so much of the discipline and good order of both services depend. His Majesty was graciously pleased to assign to the board of Directors, the mansion in Greenwich Park, called Pelham House, which has been for some time undergoing the necessary repairs and extensions, to render it at once commodious for the purposes of its intention, and ornamental as a public building. It is proposed immediately to extend the whole number of pupils to 1000, from every part of the United Kingdom. The boys are taught, reading, writing, and figures; and, where their capacities display fitness, are to be instructed in navigation: and, during the hours of relaxation, the elder boys are taught rope and sail-making. The fruits of their industry are to be appropriated towards defraying the general expence; and they are also to be instructed in the rudiments of naval discipline. The girls are taught to read and write, and instructed in needle-work and household industry.

Mr. Davy has communicated to the Royal Society the result of experiments made by Dr. Herschel, which contradict Sir Isaac Newton's explanation of the concentric rays of light, seen between two lenses placed on each other, or brought into contact, in various manners. Dr. Herschel rejects the supposition of Sir Isaac, in ascribing *fits* of transmission to light, and details various minute experiments which he had performed with plano-concave and plano-convex lenses, of different dimensions, in order to produce these concentric rays. The colour of those rings seen through a lens of 120, were black and white; those through one of 40 were red; those through one of 14, were violet, &c. Thus these concentric rings, which through a glass of one focus appeared *black*, through another appeared *blue*; and so on, throughout the whole series of prismatic colours. These experiments were made with lenses of varied dimensions, from one of 120 feet focus, down to those of the most common glasses. The Dr. concludes from them, that light cannot have *fits* of easy transmission and reflection, as supposed by Sir Isaac; and therefore that this phenomenon must be ascribed to another cause.

The Chancellor's prizes at Oxford have been adjudged to Mr. J. Allen, B. A. T. of Brasenose, for the English essay on 'Duelling:' and to Mr. Law, student of Christ Church, for the Latin verses, 'Plata Fluvius.' Also the prize, by an unknown benefactor, has been adjudged to Mr. M. Rolleston, scholar of University College, for the English verse, 'Moses under the Direction of Divine Providence, conducting the Children of Israel from Egypt to the Promised Land.'

The munificent prize of £.500, which was, during the last year, proposed to the Members of the University of Oxford, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D. Vice Provost of the College of Fort William, in Bengal, for the best composition in English Prose, on several subjects relating to

the propagating of Christianity in the East, was, on the 4th day of June last, adjudged to the Rev. Hugh Pearson, M.A. of St. John's College.

At Cambridge, the late Sir W. Browne's three Gold Medals, value Five Guineas each, are this year adjudged as follows:—To Mr. T. Hughes, of St. John's College, for the *Greek Ode;* to Mr. J. Lonsdale, of King's, for the *Latin Ode;* and to Mr. E. Alderson, sen. of Caius, for the *Epigrams.*

At Cambridge, the Members Prizes of Fifteen Guineas each, are this year adjudged to Mr. William Grant Cautley, of Pembroke Hall, senior Bachelor, for his Dissertation on the following subject:—"*Utrum mores Civium emendat an corrumpat Commercium?*"—And to Messrs. Wilkinson Matthews, of Trinity College, and John Turner, of St. John's, Middle Bachelors, the subject of whose Dissertation was,—"*Utrum Literis prosit Librorum, quanta nunc est editorum Copia?*"

FRANCE.

An Imperial Decree was obtained in January, 1807, forbidding all persons from speaking in any church, without permission from the bishop of the diocese. It appears that certain churches have lately become the *talking places* of the inconsiderate, to the scandal of the sedate.

Premiums and rewards are held out by the Minister of the Interior, for the culture of cotton in the southern provinces of France: and every agriculturist who inclines to attempt this branch of his profession, may receive from the Prefect of the Department where he resides, as much seed of this plant, as he deems necessary.

The following is a list of all the cities in France which contain a population of thirty thousand people and upwards.

Paris	547,756	Strasburgh	49,056
Marseilles	96,413	Cologne....	42,706
Bourdeaux	90,992	Orleans....	41,937
Lyons.....	88,919	Amiens ...	41,279
Rouen.....	87,000	Nismes.....	39,594
Turin	79,000	Bruges	33,632
Nantz	77,162	Angers.....	33,000
Brussels ...	66,297	Montpellier	32,723
Antwerp...	56,318	Metz	32,099
Ghent.....	55,161	Caen	30,923
Lisle	54,756	Rheims.....	30,225
Toulouse...	50,171	Alexandria	30,000
Liege.....	50,000	Clermont ..	30,000

GERMANY.

Mr. Wilberforce's "View of Christianity" is translated into German at Frankfort.

A new method of curing those dreadful convulsions which carry off so many brave wounded soldiers, is said to have been practised in the hospitals of Germany with great success. It consists in an alternate internal application of opium and carbonate of potash. It has been seen that when thirty-six grains of opium, administered in the space of twenty-four hours, produced no effect, the patient was considerably relieved by ten grains more of opium, employed after having given the alkaline solution. This new treatment of Tetanus is worthy of attention.

Professor Bode took advantage of the fine weather between the 23d of April, and the 5th of May, to view the new planet Vesta, which he did nine times at Berlin, from the Royal Observatory, with the mural quadrant. On the 5th of May at 9 h. 2 min. 56 sec. mean time, its right ascension was 178 deg. 29 min, 56 sec. and northern declination 12 deg. 35 min. 49 seconds.

RUSSIA.

A new school of practical jurisprudence has been established at Petersburgh; in which four professors teach the law of nature and ethics, the Roman law, and the history of Russia; to which is added a course of lectures on the labours of the Commission of Legislation. All the lectures are in the Russian language.

AMERICA.

Dr. Nevin, who was exiled to America for the part he took in the rebellion in Ireland, and who at present resides at New-York, is said to be employed in writing the History of Ireland for the last Twenty Years.

A traveller has presented to the Museum of Baltimore, an enormous tooth of a Mammoth, brought by him from the banks of the Missouri. He says, that he found a space of about a quarter of a mile of extent wholly covered to the depth of six feet, with bones of an enormous size. He offers to procure for any person who will pay him for the expence and trouble, a complete skeleton of the Mammoth, fifty-four feet in length, and twenty-two feet in height.

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THEOLOGY.

A Sermon preached in the Chapel of the Magdalen Hospital, before the President, &c. April 23, 1807, by T. L. O'Beirne, D. D. Lord Bishop of Meath. 1s. 6d.

Two Sermons preached in Birmingham, at the Request of the Governors of the Blue Coat School in that Town, April 26, 1807; by the Rev. J. Eyton, A. M. 2s.

A Sermon preached at St. Mary Magdalen's Church, Taunton, at the Visitation of the Worshipful John Turner, May 19, 1807; by the Rev. Thomas Comber. 1s.

Lectures on Scripture Facts; by the Rev. William Bengo Collyer.

The Duties of a Marriage State, or, Pastoral Address; designed also as a general Illustration of the Form of Solemnization of Matrimony; by Basil Wood. 9.

A Fourth Address to the Members of Convocation, respecting the new Statute upon Public Examination; by the Rector of Lincoln College. 6d.

Sermons and Letters by the Rev. William Alphonsus Gunn. 8s. 8vo. bound.

The Glorious Hope of a Last World. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Antiquities of Magna Græcia; by W. Wilkins, jun. with upwards of 70 Engravings. £.10 10s. royal folio, boards.

The Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquere (Counsellor, and First Esquire Carver to Philip le Bon, Duke of Burgundy) to Palestine; and his Return from Jerusalem overland to France, during the Years 1432 and 1433, from a Manuscript in the National Library at Paris; translated by Thomas Johnes, Esq. with a Map of Tartary. 8vo. 12s.

Some Account of the Public Life, and a Selection from the unpublished Writings, of the Earl of Macartney; by John Barrow. 2 vol. 4to. £3. 3s.

A New Tablet of Memory, shewing every memorable Event in History, from the earliest Period to the Year 1807, &c. &c. with a Chart of British and Foreign History.

Appendix to the History of Great Britain, from the Revolution of 1688, to the Treaty of Amiens, 1802; by W. Belsham. 2 vols. 8vo. 21s.

A View of the Mineralogy, Agriculture, Fisheries, Manufactures, &c. of the Island of Arran, interspersed with Notices of Antiquities, &c. and Means suggested for improving the Agriculture and Fisheries, and introducing Manufactures into the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; by the Rev. J. Headrick. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The History of the House of Austria, from the Foundation of the Monarchy, by Rodolph of Hapsburgh, to the Death of Leopold the Second, 1218 to 1292; by W. Coxe. 3 vols. 4to. £.5. 5s.

The History of the Pirates, Free-Booters, or Buccaneers of America, translated from the German of J. M. Von Archenholtz; by G. Mason, Esq. 5s. 12mo.

The Code of Health and Longevity; or a concise View of the Principles calculated for the Preservation of Health, and the Attainment of long Life; by Sir J. Sinclair, Bart. 4 vols. 8vo. £.2. 8s.

Chemistry applied to Arts and Manufactures; by M. J. A. Chaptal. 4 vols. 8vo. 36s.

An Inquiry into the Constitution and Economy of Man, Natural, Moral, and Religious; by R. C. Sims. 4s.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CHINA.

By an edict of the Emperor of China, which bears the date 1805, it appears that a persecution was at that time carrying on against the converts to Christianity. The edict admits the right of Europeans settled in China to practise their own religious usages, but states it as a settled law of the Empire that they should not propagate their doctrines among the natives. In contempt of this law, Te-tien-tse (who it seems is a Catholic Missionary resident at Pekin of the name of Odeadato) had taught his doctrines to many persons, and had induced them to conform to his religion, and had also printed in the Chinese character no less than thirty-one books, with a view to seduce the minds of the simple

peasantry. This is declared to be a very odious offence, and Te-tien-tse is sentenced, in consequence of it, to be conducted to Ge-ho in Tartary, there to remain a prisoner, and to be debarred from any communication with the Tartars in that neighbourhood. Several of the Chinese who had been seduced by this European, were found guilty. One of them, a private of infantry, who had been discovered teaching the Christian doctrine in a Church; four others who superintended congregations of Christians, or were otherwise active in extending their sect; a female peasant who superintended a congregation of her own sex; and a soldier who had contumaciously resisted the exhortations made to him to renounce his errors, are banished to Eluth, and condemned to become slaves among the Eluths. Three soldiers who had been converted to Christianity are declared unworthy to be considered as men, and their names ordered to be erased from the list of the army. Several who had renounced their errors are discharged from confinement, but a strict watch is to be kept over them, lest they should relapse. The various civil and military officers, through whose remissness these foreign doctrines have been propagated, are to be cashiered; and the books containing these doctrines are without exception to be committed to the flames, together with the printing blocks from which the impressions were taken. It is further declared, that all who shall hereafter frequent the Europeans, in order to learn their doctrines, will be punished with the utmost rigor of the law.

TARTARY.

The Directors of the Edinburgh Missionary Society have lately received letters from Karass, dated the 28th of March.

Two young natives have been added to the Church, by baptism. Abdy the Mahometan Priest was present at the baptism, and seemed much struck with what he then witnessed. He expressed peculiar satisfaction both with the sentiments and music of a hymn, which Mr. Brunton had composed for the occasion, and in which some of the great distinguishing truths of Christianity were introduced.

The ransomed children continue to do well, and are a great comfort to the missionaries. A field of about 18 acres has been enclosed, which it is intended to cultivate this summer, for the use of the mission. It was nearly all plowed. Mr. Galloway, who was bred to the weaving business, has got a loom made, on which he works at his leisure hours. He has finished one web, and was proposing to get a loom made for a young native who lives with him, whom he intends to instruct in the art of weaving.

A Sultan, named Ali, who used often to visit the missionaries, died lately. Before his death he asked his friends to carry him to Karass. But this request they rejected with indignation. They suspected that he died a Christian, and on that account hesitated about burying him. He left a widow and three children whom he wished to be committed to Mr. Brunton's care. But they all died soon after him of the plague, which was then raging in the district where they resided.

The Karmans are a numerous family among the Kabardians who live near Karass. The missionaries have had many conversations with them about religion, and not long ago a Tartar Effendi wrote to the Kabardian *Mahkemma*, or Parliament, accusing the Karmas of being Christians at heart, and of practising Christian usages secretly.

The Russians are gone to war with a mountain tribe not far from Karass called the Tshitshins. These tribes are exceedingly restless and faithless. It is said that the Circassians are to join the Russians, and it was reported among the Tartars that the Tshitshins had killed a number of Circassians who were on their way to the Russian head quarters.

JEWS.

Dr. Herschel, the Jewish Rabbi, has addressed a second exhortation to his brethren, in which, after stating that the plan formed by the Missionary Society, of an institution for educating Jewish youth, "is but an inviting snare, a decoying experiment to undermine the props of their religion," and "to entice innocent Jewish children from the observance of the law of Moses," requires the congregation to send no child to any such seminary, on pain of being considered as having forsaken their religion, as having lost all title to the name of Jews, and forfeited all claims on the congregation both in life and death.

SCOTLAND.

The general assembly of the Church of Scotland, to their honour came to an unanimous resolution at their last meeting to thank his Majesty for the abolition of the Slave Trade. The following extract from

their address to the King expresses their sentiments on this subject.

"In recollecting your Majesty's uniform zeal for the interests of religion, justice, and humanity; the many public measures for the promotion of these great interests by which your Majesty's reign has been distinguished; and the exalted character which under your Majesty's government, the British nation has acquired; it is with heartfelt satisfaction that we congratulate your Majesty on the final abolition of the African Slave Trade, which had so long polluted the commerce, and tarnished the honour of the British name. We feel, in common with the great body of our fellow subjects, that the acts of the last session of parliament, which prohibited the farther importation of slaves into the West India Colonies, will ever be regarded as one of the most splendid events of your Majesty's reign. And while it proclaims to the world the justice of the British character, will send the tidings of peace and benevolence to the injured natives of Africa."

QUAKERS.

The yearly meeting of this body was held in London between the 20th and the 29th of May last. The following extract from the epistle addressed by that meeting to their brethren in every part of the kingdom, reflects no small credit on their benevolence.

"On the particular inspection this year into the state of our religious society, various objects tending to its welfare have engaged our attention, some of which we shall endeavour briefly to lay before you. But first we are inclined to express our thankfulness for an event which concerns not us only, but incalculable multitudes of our fellow creatures—our fellow-possessors of the faculty of reason—our fellow-objects of the redemption which comes by Christ. We scarcely need name the abolition of the Slave Trade. We view it as one of the most important acts of public, national righteousness, which ever dignified the councils of any government; and our minds have been directed in secret prayer to the Almighty Parent of the universe, that he may be pleased to regard this kingdom for good; and direct its future councils to such further acts of justice and mercy as may promote his glory, in the harmony of his rational creation *.

"We may also here mention that we learn by the accounts which we have received from our brethren in America, that their attention in assisting some of the Indian nations to attain to the benefits of civilization †, is still continued with vigour and with increasing success. We are gratified with being informed of the contribution which Friends in this nation have raised in order to participate in this work of benevolence. Six thousand pounds of it are already put in train to be remitted to America; about nine hundred more are ready to follow, and we have cordial assurances from our friends abroad, that they will readily take upon them "the administration of this service;" which we trust will not only prosper, to the advancement of our Indian brethren in the scale of civil life; but, like the gift of old, mentioned by the apostle, may be "abundant also, by many thanksgivings unto God."

* It is truly gratifying to find Christians of every name uniting their cordial thanksgivings on this great occasion.

† For some account of this labour of love, see the Christian Observer for 1806.

VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

CONTINENTAL INTELLIGENCE.

ALL the fears which we expressed in our last number respecting the success of the French have been fatally realized. After some days of severe fighting between them and the allied armies in Poland, a general engagement took place at Friedland, on the 14th of June (the anniversary of the battle of Marengo) in which the French were victorious. Many amuse themselves with speculations respecting the comparative loss on either side, and wish to make it appear that the victors lost at least as many men as the vanquished. The grand results of the battle, however, will not be altered by such computations. It will still remain true that Bonaparte has succeeded in his objects, and that continental Europe now lies at his feet. His army entered Konigsberg on the 16th of June, and proceeded thence with its usual rapidity in pursuit of the retreating enemy. It reached Tilsit on the 19th, here an ar-

mistice was proposed by the Russians, and acceded to by Bonaparte. On the 25th a conference, which lasted about two hours, took place between him and the Emperor Alexander, on board a vessel stationed for the purpose in the River Niemen, and on the succeeding day they dined together. Their interviews have since been frequent, and the King of Prussia has been admitted a party to them. On the 3d instant preliminaries of peace were signed between the three powers, and the ratifications have since been exchanged. The terms of the treaty have not yet transpired, but little doubt can be entertained of their having been framed agreeably to the policy of Bonaparte, and with a view to injure as much as possible the interests of Great Britain.

The armistice between the French and the Swedes terminated on the 13th of June, the day before the battle of Friedland was fought, and hostilities immediately recommenced in Pomerania. The course of the war has been considerably to the disadvantage of Sweden, and now that the French armies in Poland are at liberty to turn their attention to that quarter; the only rational hope that can be indulged is, that the Swedes may be able to evacuate that province in time to prevent the necessity of their laying down their arms. It does not appear whether any stipulations have been made in favour of Sweden in the treaty of Tilsit.

A violent revolution has taken place at Constantinople. The immediate cause of it is supposed to have been the distress arising from the want of provisions in consequence of the blockade by the British and Russian fleets. The inhabitants led on by the Janissaries rose against the government, forced the Seraglio, where they committed every species of excess, murdered the Sultan Selim and his son, and raised his nephew Mustapha to the throne. What will be the effect of this change it would be vain to conjecture. At present there appears no alteration in the policy of Turkey, and the war is continued against the Russians without any remission. The account given in our last number of the disasters which had befallen our troops in Egypt is officially confirmed.

On the 6th of June a dreadful shock of an earthquake was felt at Lisbon, which lasted about eight seconds A great many houses have been damaged, but, providentially, few lives have been lost.

GREAT BRITAIN.

We have always been in the number of those who were of opinion, that although the dangers of the country might be suspended by a confederacy of the Continental Powers against France, yet that they were not likely to be thereby removed, and might even be ultimately increased. This issue has been more speedily realized than we had anticipated. Bonaparte has extended his power considerably beyond its former limits, and has so consolidated it as to afford little hope of its being speedily shaken. What posts he may choose to retain on the North and Baltic Seas, with a view to our annoyance, or what stipulations unfavourable to our commerce he may now exact from the prostrate Powers of Europe, will soon be known. Doubtless one of his objects will be to cut us off from those naval supplies on which our maritime superiority in some measure depends, as well as to shut against us that extensive mart for our manufactures which the Baltic furnishes. A just apprehension of this nature, has, as we suppose, influenced our Government to dispatch a large naval and military armament to that quarter. Such a measure may, doubtless, retard the completion of Bonaparte's purpose, by either encouraging the Danes to resist any attempt to shut the Sound against us, or by forcibly preventing that attempt, should they be disposed to concur in it. Should Bonaparte, however, meet with no signal reverse, and we have no ground, according to human probabilities, for calculating on such an event, he is very likely, sooner or later, to effect his wishes. This, however, forms but a part of the danger against which we have to guard, and to meet which ought to have been the object of our active and unremitting preparation for the last four years; we mean the Danger of Invasion. What is now our actual state? We believe it to be even less secure than it was in the second year of the war. A great part of our regular force, that species of

force to which we must chiefly look for repelling the practised legions of France, has since been dissipated in useless expeditions; and a large proportion of what remained has just been sent out of the country, probably to the Baltic, on a service which must necessarily involve the hazard of our seeing them no more. Let us add to this that the Boulogne flotilla, though almost forgotten by us, is still in existence; that the naval stores and the ports of the Baltic are in the hands of Bonaparte; and that his means of annoying us are thus exceedingly increased, even if we make no account of the immense accession of force which his armies may obtain from the countries he has subdued. Let us think also of the state of our Councils at home, of the distrust of public men, which has been mischievously and unnecessarily generated by the petty squabbles, the crimination and recrimination that have taken place of those grave and weighty concerns which ought at such a moment to have occupied the attention of our legislators; still more let us think of the disturbed and feverish state of Ireland; and it is impossible not to feel that our situation is highly perilous*. But why do we draw this gloomy picture? Certainly not for the purpose of infusing useless terror; but that we may excite our readers to those exertions, and prepare them for those sacrifices which must necessarily be required of them; above all, that we may excite among them a spirit of seriousness and humility, of penitence and reformation, of supplication and prayer. May the great Arbiter of the fortunes of nations inspire our rulers with sagacity to discern, and firmness to pursue the measures which are best adapted for our preservation; may he fire the breasts of our seamen and soldiers with loyalty, patriotism, and valour; and may he infuse into all ranks and orders of men a spirit of union and harmony, and the fear of the Lord!

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

The Session was opened on the 26th of June by a Speech from the Throne, in which, after the circumstances that led to the dissolution are adverted to, the war with the Sublime Porte, and the endeavours used to draw close the ties which connect his Majesty with the Continent are noticed. A continuance of the inquiries connected with public economy is then recommended; and the Speech closes with an exhortation to cherish a spirit of union and harmony among the people. The address moved in answer to the Speech was carried, as we have already stated in our last number, in the House of Lords by a majority of 160 to 67; and in the House of Commons by 350 to 155. The House of Commons was more fully attended than perhaps on any former occasion. Besides the 505 Members who divided, and the four tellers, about sixty are said to have paired off before the division.

A Bill has passed the House of Commons, and is in progress through the upper House, to prevent the granting of offices in reversion.

The Finance Committee has been renewed, with some alteration of the names composing it. This alteration gave rise to much debate; on which occasion, as well as on some others, those instances of recrimination took place to which we have already alluded. The charges of an improvident expenditure of public money would have been made with more propriety before the Finance Committee, where they would have been duly investigated previously to their being made public, than before the House. They were besides of so trifling a description, that no advantage was to be hoped for, from their being denounced in parliamentary speeches, at all commensurate with the irritation they must necessarily occasion in the minds of the parties accused, and the triumph which such bickerings must afford to those in this country, who are equally hostile to all Governments. We object not to the discovery of peculation, improvidence, and profusion. On the contrary we most anxiously desire it. But we should wish to see the inquiry conducted not with heat and asperity, but with all due deliberation, gravity, and decorum. The following are the names of the present Committee: Mr. Bankes, Mr. Biddulph, Lord H. Petty, Mr. J. H. Brown, Mr. Grattan, Lord A. Hamilton, Mr. H. Thornton, Mr. H. C. Combe, Mr. Brogden, Mr. Leicester, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Joddrel, Mr. H. Addington, Mr. Leslie Foster, Mr. W. Cavendish, Mr. N. Calvert, Mr. T. Baring, Mr. Sumner, Mr. P. Carew, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Ellison. The first nine were on the former Committee.

* We wish that our readers would now turn their eyes to the pamphlet intitled, "The Dangers of the Country," reviewed by us in our No. for February, p. 109. They would probably now be better able to appreciate the views of its author.

In a Committee of Supply the following sums have been voted for the services of the year, viz. 130,000 seamen and marines, together with the tear and wear of shipping, rebuilding ships of war, hire of transports, &c. £.17,529,837; and army expences of all kinds, including ordnance, barrack, and commissary departments, £.19,032,988.

On the 6th inst. Mr. Whitbread moved that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the nation. During the debate strangers were excluded. The motion was negatived by 322 against 136.

Mr. Whitbread's bills for establishing parochial schools in England and Wales; and for the encouragement of industry among the labouring classes of the community, and for the relief and regulation of the necessitous poor, have been revived in the Lower House. Our sentiments respecting the first of these we have already given in a former part of this number. We think it probable, that their final adoption will be postponed to another session.

A bill has been brought in for the more effectual prevention of insurrection and disturbances in Ireland, which we are truly sorry to find, from the admission of all parties, the state of that country loudly calls for.

On the 22d instant, Lord Castlereagh opened to the House his plan of military defence. He proposed, that the regular army should be increased by voluntary enlistments from the militia, to the amount of 21,000 men from that of England, and 7000 from that of Ireland; that his Majesty should be empowered to call upon the counties for a supplementary militia and a half, making for England 36,000, for Ireland 8000; that if the number of volunteers in any county should fall below the proportion of six times the militia of that county, then the Lord Lieutenant should be empowered to raise a *local* militia (not to serve beyond the county) to the extent of the deficiency; and lastly, that the provisions of Mr. Windham's training bill should be carried into effect, with certain modifications, intended to improve its efficacy.

NAVAL INTELLIGENCE.

The fleet which is supposed to be destined for the Baltic sailed from Yarmouth on the 27th instant, under the command of Admiral Gambier. It consists of 23 sail of the line, 9 frigates, and 21 smaller vessels. The number of troops sent on this expedition, including two divisions which had previously sailed, is supposed to amount to 25,000 men.

The Leeward Island and Jamaica homeward-bound fleets have arrived safely in this country.

We feel much concern in stating, that an engagement has taken place between a British and an American frigate. The latter had refused to deliver up five or six deserters from the former, who were known to be on board. The Captain (Humphries) of the British frigate (the Leopard) insisted on searching the American frigate, the Chesapeak, Commodore Barron, and fired some shots to bring her to, which were disregarded. At length he fired a broadside, which was returned. On his firing a second broadside, the Chesapeak struck her colours. She had five men killed, and 21 wounded, in this short rencontre. The deserters were found on board, and taken out; after which she was set at liberty. Great commotions are said to have taken place in America in consequence of this transaction.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

The Duchess of Brunswick has arrived in this country, and has taken up her abode at Blackheath, near the residence of her royal daughter.

Dr. Fisher, late Bishop of Exeter, has been translated to the see of Salisbury. He has been succeeded by Dr. Pelham, late Bishop of Bristol, whose vacant bishopric will be filled by Dr. Luxmore, Dean of Gloucester, and Rector of St. Andrew, Holborn.

The Hon. W. W. Pole is appointed Secretary to the Admiralty, in the room of W. Marsden, Esq.

DEATHS.

Calcutta, Dec. 10. The official notification of the death of the King of DELHI arrived on Saturday last at one o'clock, when a funeral salute was fired from Fort William, according to the usual form, in minute guns, extending to 78, being the number of years of age obtained by the deceased King. A royal salute succeeded, in commemoration of the accession of Ackber Shaw, second son of Shaw Allum, to the throne of Delhi. The demise of the late King of Hindostan, and the immediate succession to the throne, have occasioned no tumult or commotion.

The Vienna Court Gazette of May 9, contains the following intelligence, under the head of Turkey: "The celebrated Mameluke Chief, ELPHI BEY, died suddenly on the 30th of January, while on a journey between Damanhoura and Mansur."

At Paris, aged 75, M. JEROME DE LALANDE, the celebrated Astronomer.

At Shenstone, in his 85th year, the Rev. WILLIAM INGE, canon residentiary and precentor of Lichfield cathedral, and rector of Brereton, in Cheshire.

In an advanced age, the Rev. W. DAWSON, of Queen's College, Oxford; rector of Weston-upon-Trent, Derbyshire.

In the 103d year of her age, Mrs. HANNAH WILSON, of Keswick, and formerly housekeeper to the late Governor Stephenson, of that place.

At Paris, in her 85th year, the Right Hon. Lady ANASTASIA STAFFORD HOWARD, Baroness of Stafford, only surviving dauther and heir of William Earl of Stafford, who died in 1734.

In an advanced age, the Rev. SAMUEL COOKE, many years vicar of Fremington, near Barnstaple. He retired to bed at his usual hour, apparently in good health, and in the morning was found dead.

At Bideford, aged 80, the Rev. Mr. LAVINGTON, Dissenting Minister.

Rev. SIMON HAMATTY, one of the clergymen of the chapel in French Street, Dublin.

Rev. THOMAS THOMAS, rector of Cadoxton, near Neath, co. Glamorgan.

Rev. JOSEPH HANDLEY, master of the free school at Chipping Norton, co. Oxford, and formerly of Claybrook, co. Leicester.

At Castle Donington, co. Leicester, in his 81st year, the Rev. JOHN COLLIER, vicar of that parish.

At West Bromwich, co. Salop, in her 87th year, Mrs. ESTHER BULKELEY, sister of the late Rev. Charles Bulkeley, of London, and grand-daughter of the Rev. Matt. Henry, an eminent Dissenting Minister, who died at the beginning of the last century.

Rev. CHARLES FAVELL, rector of Brighton-cum-Bythorn, Hants, and formerly fellow of Clare hall, Cambridge.

Mrs. LIGHTFOOT, of Gravesend, in Kent. She invited a party of friends to dinner; and, after eating with a good appetite, apparently in perfect health, she retired to her apartment, where she was heard to exclaim, "Lord have mercy upon me!" and when her friends entered the room she was found dead.

At his seat at Castle Martyr, co. Cork, at the advanced age of 80, RICHARD BOYLE, Earl of Shannon.

Aged 93, Mrs. HUDSON, relict of the late Rev. Thomas Hudson, perpetual curate of Quorndon, co. Leicester.

At St. Andrew's, in Scotland, NICHOLAS VILANT, Esq. professor of Mathematics in the United Colleges of St. Andrew.

At Simpson, Bucks, the Rev. GRAHAM HANMER, M. A. rector of that place, and of St. Bartholomew, near the Exchange, London, and vicar of Hanmer, Flintshire.

At Somerton, the Rev. Mr. WHITWICK, rector of Chiselborough and Middle Chinnock, co. Somerset.

At Aberdeen, in the house of his son, Bishop SKINNER, after having held the charge of the Episcopal Congregation at Langside near 65 years, the Rev. JOHN SKINNER, aged 85.

At Barrasut, Bengal, Mr. CHARLES WILCOXON, cadet in the East India Company's service, and eldest son of Mr. Arthur W. of Lombard-street, London.

Aged 66, LAWRENCE GILBERT, Esq. who formerly kept the Horns inn at Stamford.

At Louth, Mr. JOHN PETTENER, only son of S. C. P. Esq.

Suddenly, Mr. HOBBS, many years a pilot at Pill, near Bristol.

Suddenly, at Lea, near Gainsborough, co. Lincoln, aged 77, Mr. GEORGE CRAWSHAW, farmer, &c.

At Nottingham, the wife of Lieutenant-colonel KANE, late inspecting field-officer of volunteers in that district.

At the Green Man public-house in Darkhouse-lane, Billingsgate, where he had resided upwards of forty years, Mr. WEST.

Aged 68, Mrs. BANKS, of Barholm, near Stamford, co. Lincoln.

In her 82d year, Mrs. ELIZABETH HATHWAY, relict of Edward H. Esq. of Pucklechurch, co. Gloucester.

Aged 75, Mr. BURNABY, an eminent farmer, of Burton-Latimer, county of Northampton.

In his 61st year, JOHN COLQUITT, Esq. town-clerk of Liverpool.

Suddenly, Mr. WILLIAM HUDSON, of Barton, county of Lincoln, butcher.

Aged 75, WILLIAM GIBBONS, Esq. alderman of Bristol, iron-master, and merchant.

At Dove-hill, King's County, after a long illness, EDWARD MOLLOY, Esq.

At Jersey, Capt. LE GROS, R. N.

At Hollingknowl, co. Derby, aged 96, GEORGE BAGSHAW; whose father died aged 93; grandfather aged 96; and great-grandfather aged 99.

At Warrington, co. Lancaster, CHARLES DALRYMPLE, Esq. of the 4th Dragoons, second son of the late Lord Westhall.

Mr. GEORGE ROWE, surgeon and apothecary, of Lawrence-hill, Bristol, formerly of Cranbourn, co. Dorset.

Far advanced in years, Mr. HOLLAND, farmer and grazier, of Manthorpe, near Grantham, co. Lincoln.

Aged 40, Mr. JOHN NORTON, confectioner, of Lincoln.

At Ely, in his 29th year, Dr. WILLIAM ROYLE, eldest son of the Rev. W. R. of Crimplesham, Norfolk.

Mrs. M'LEROTH, wife of Lieut-col. M. of Bury.

At Northallerton, in her 66th year, Mrs. WALKER, wife of the Rev. Benjamin W. vicar of that place.

At her seat at Debdenhall, Essex, Mrs. MARY CHISWELL, widow of the late Richard Muilman Trench C. esq. who died suddenly in 1797. She was daughter of Dr. Jurin, and mother of Lady Vincent.

At Richmond, Surrey, Mr. JOHN FARNHAM, auctioneer.

Aged 21. Mrs. JEFFERSON, wife of Mr. John J. linen-draper, Monument-yard.

Mr. HARDER, of the Queen's Arms tavern, St. Paul's church-yard.

At Verdun, in France, where he had been detained in captivity with his son four years, aged 64, WM. HUMPHREYS, Esq. of Henwick, near Worcester, formerly an eminent merchant at Birmingham.

At Ely, Mrs. FREEMAN, widow, niece to the late Thomas Gotobed, Esq.

Mr. WILLIAM STONER, an eminent strong beer brewer, of Kingswood, Wilts, brother of Mr. S. linen-draper, of Bristol.

At Clifton, near Bristol, after an illness of three months, Miss Spry, eldest daughter of the late Lieut.-gen. S. of the Royal Engineers.

At Edinburgh, HAMILTON BELL, Esq. Writer to the Signet.

Mr. SHELTON, of the Hare, Northgate-street, Leicester.

Aged 88, Mrs. DENT, relict of the Rev. John Dent, late vicar of Ainderby Steeple.

At Winchelsea, Sussex, aged 80, THOMAS MOORTON, Esq. deputy mayor and the oldest freeman of that Corporation.

Aged 70, Mr. SIBLEY, coach-proprietor, of Stilton, co. Huntingdon.

At his house in Lincoln, in his 75th year, JOSEPH DELL, Esq.

In her 10th year, MARY ANNE, eldest daughter of Richard Clay, Esq. of Stamford.

At Pill, near Bristol, in her 50th year, Mrs. S. ATHERTON, sister of Mr. George Windham, of that place.

In consequence of having fractured his skull by a fall from his horse, occasioned by the animal being frightened by some boys who were playing at foot-ball, THOMAS BARKER, apprentice to a tailor at Stamford.

At his house in the town of Galway, in Ireland, Mr. LUKE LYDON, merchant, and the only surviving son of Mr. Dominick Lydon, of Cahir, co. Mayo, one of the greatest farmers in that county in his time.

Suddenly, at his lodgings in Trinity-street, Bristol, much respected, Captain DUNING, of the Wiltshire Militia.

At Genoa, Madame NEGROTTI, ; who has left her heirs property to the amount of 300,000 livres; and has bequeathed a sum to her parish for the performance of 4000 masses.

In her 54th year, Mrs. STIEF, wife of Mr. Thomas Stiff, of New-street, Coyent-garden.

After a long illness, aged 64, the wife of Paul Webster, Esq. of Derby.

Mrs. ISHAM, wife of the Rev. E. Isham, Rector of Lamport, co. Northampton.

Aged 63, Mrs. BEALES, wife of Mr. Beales, surgeon, Cambridge.

Mrs. LUPTON, wife of Mr. Lupton, of the Houghton paper mills near Grantham.

Aged 83, Mrs. RAWLINSON, of Derby.

At Southampton, Mr. THOMAS WEAVER, surgeon, only surviving son of the late Mr. Weaver, attorney of Bristol.

In the Minster-yard at York, Mrs. DAWSON, wife of George Dawson, Esq. of Mount St. John, near Thirsk, in Yorkshire.

Crushed to death, by a lage mass of clay falling on him while digging a cellar at Windsor, BENJAMIN JOHNSON, a bricklayer's labourer.

At Colsterworth, aged 74, Mrs. PLUMPTON, post-mistress, relict of the late Rev. John Plumpton, formerly rector of North Witham, co. Lincoln.

Aged 68; Mr. BOTT, town-serjeant of Stamford, formerly an eminent draper.

Aged 64, Mrs. PRESBUYR, of New-street, Covent Garden.

At his farm, Fryer's-place, near Acton, Middlesex, aged 63, Mr. John WEEDON.

— DIGBY, coachman to Jacob Boak, Esq. of Leadenhall-street. While putting the horses to the carriage, at Mr. White's livery stables in Bishopsgate-street, one of them kicked him in the abdomen. He was taken to his master's, where all possible assistance was given to him; but he died in a few hours.

Mrs. MARY SMITH, of Spilsby, co. Lincoln. While in good health, conversing with her friends, she fell out of her chair, and expired instantly.

At her house in Brunswick-place, Bath, Miss FRANCES MITFORD, sister to Lord Redesdale.

On Winchmore-hill, Mrs. DECKER, wife of Mr. J. Decker, one of the people called Quakers. She was blind, and having been left for a few minutes by the servant, in endeavouring to find her way into another room, she fell into the cellar, fractured her skull, and died in an hour.

After a short illness, the Rev. THOMAS AQUILA DALE, rector of All Saints, Lewes, Sussex, and of St. John the Baptist, in the Cliff. He lived greatly respected by his congregations, and died equally lamented, leaving a wife and nine children. He was of St. John's-college, Cambridge; B. A. 1789.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE will endeavour to find the paper of SCRUTANS S. S.

The extracts from Dr. Paley and from Sadi will be admitted; as will Mr. Faber's Reply to an Enquirer; a Second Letter of AN ENQUIRER; and VIATOR.

We highly approve of the motives which led S. Y. S. R. to write. The non insertion of his paper did not proceed from inattention to its merits.

We have found it necessary to decline inserting notices of Charity Sermons in the body of our Work.

T. R. On Obedience to the Magistrate, is still under consideration.

O. C. K. will appear.

J. K.; LAICUS; W. W.; and S.; have been received.

☞ The Obituary of Mr. Fox is unavoidably postponed for want of room.